

NEW APPROACHES TO MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

1

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

General Editor

Marco Mostert (University of Utrecht)

Editorial Board

Michael Clanchy (University of London)

Peter Gumbert (University of Leiden)

Mayke de Jong (University of Utrecht)

Rosamond McKitterick (University of Cambridge)

Árpád Orbán (University of Utrecht)

NEW APPROACHES TO MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION

Edited by
Marco Mostert

with an Introduction by
Michael Clanchy

Turnhout: BREPOLS
1999

© 1999 – BREPOLs

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper

D/1999/0095/63

ISBN 2-503-50814-6

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Contents

Editorial Preface	VII
Abbreviations	VIII

Part I

Introduction	3
MICHAEL CLANCHY	
New Approaches to Medieval Communication?	15
MARCO MOSTERT	

Part II

The Audience of Early Medieval Hagiographical Texts	41
WOLFERT S. VAN EGMOND	
“Send More Socks”: On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters	69
MARY GARRISON	
Communication by Written Texts in Court Cases: Some Charter Evidence (ca. 800 – ca. 1100)	101
KARL HEIDECKER	

Between the Imperial and the Sacred: The Gesture of Coronation in Carolingian and Ottonian Images MARIËLLE HAGEMAN	127
The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia) ANNA ADAMSKA	165
<i>Part III</i>	
A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication MARCO MOSTERT	193

Editorial Preface

One of the most important developments in European history took place in communication. A transition is clearly visible from illiterate societies to societies in which most members are active users of the written word. This complex process, which started in Antiquity and is still not complete, gained momentum during the Middle Ages. Representatives of many disciplines have recently made contributions to our understanding of the history of medieval communication: palaeographers, codicologists and historians of the book, anthropologists and psychologists, but also philosophers, sociologists, literary historians, classicists and theologians, economists, art historians and historians. Much has become known, but much more awaits discovery. Interest in the subject is now widespread within the worldwide community of medieval studies; and ever more scholars are becoming convinced of the potential of studying the tensions between oral and literate modes of thought.

Since 1996, the Dutch "Pionier Project Verschriftelijking" has been researching the uses of the written word in medieval Europe, particularly in the early Middle Ages, organising symposia and meetings at international conferences. It has convened an Editorial Board to oversee the specialist series *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, of which *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* is the first volume. The series is intended to provide a forum for publications on the history of non-verbal, oral and written communication in the Middle Ages. The intention is to publish two volumes per year.

This first volume contains contributions by the members of the "Pionier Project", thereby giving an impression of the various approaches adopted. A bibliography has been added which, although incomplete, shows the enormous amount of work which has been done in recent years on the subject of medieval literacy and communication. Additions to this bibliography will be published in the annual *Newsletter on Medieval Literacy and Communication*, distributed by Brepols Publishers (Turnhout).

Michael Clanchy, whose seminal *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London, 1979; second edn. Oxford, 1993) has inspired much of the current interest in medieval literacy, has graciously consented to write an Introduction to the volume.

Abbreviations

BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis</i> , 2nd edn., ed. A. PONCELET, 2 vols. and a <i>Supplementum</i> (Brussels, 1898-1901, 1911), followed by a <i>Novum Supplementum</i> , ed. H. FROS (Brussels, 1986).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> , 1- (Turnhout, 1954-).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Capp	<i>Capitularia Regum Francorum</i> , 2 vols. (Hannover, 1883-1897).
Epp	<i>Epistolae (in Quarto)</i> , vols. 1-8/1 (Berlin, 1887-1939).
SRM	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i> , 7 vols. (Hannover and Leipzig, 1884-1951).
SS	<i>Scriptores (in Folio)</i> , 30 vols.; <i>(in Quarto)</i> vols. 31-34 (Hannover, 1826-1980).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864).

Introduction

MICHAEL CLANCHY

This first volume in the new series *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* presents work by the research group, the "Pionier Project 'Verschriftelijking'" headed by Marco Mostert, which was formed at the University of Utrecht in 1996 to study medieval written culture in relation to other forms of communication. "Verschriftelijking" describes the process of becoming literate; in English the word "literalization" has been coined for this, in order to distinguish this social and intellectual process from "literacy" which is its end product. "Literalization" involves much more than elementary schooling, as the acquisition of literacy had—and still has—many origins and roots. The intention of this innovative is to place medieval literacy—in all its varieties, ambiguities and ramifications—in its social, intellectual and cultural context. The research group is attached to the History Department of the University and it is therefore principally concerned with the historian's questions: who? what? when? where? and why? The questions that needs answering are huge, numerous and complex, and the research group has to begin by concentrating on a few of them. The medieval period is particularly difficult as far as "when?" and "where?" questions are concerned because so many manuscripts are undated and difficult to contextualize. As for "why?" questions, these have frequently been addressed by specialists in particular genres or regions without sufficient knowledge of similar research being done elsewhere.

The city of Utrecht, near the mouth of the Rhine and at the heart of the Netherlands, is a vantage point from which to view developments in Europe as

a whole. So much history in Europe has been written from a nationalist bias, even in medieval history and in non-political areas like art and literature. Much of this bias is unconscious and arises from writers identifying with particular nation states because that is how Europe, in peace and war, has been organized for centuries. To illustrate this, I need look no further than my own *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*.¹ I concentrated on England because the medieval sources I knew best were English and they were preserved by English national institutions: the Public Record Office, the British Library, the county record offices, and so on. Furthermore, England was already a unit of government in the period from 1066 (the battle of Hastings) to 1307 (the death of Edward I, England's most powerful medieval king). England has produced so much distinctive documentation of its own that there has been little incentive for its historians to look outside it. In the Netherlands on the other hand—among academics in particular—a more internationally minded culture has grown up, notably in the Dutch mastery of their neighbour's languages and in the determination to see beyond the historical nation state.

To produce results, the right questions have to be asked and at the same time researchers need to be aware of what their predecessors have already written. This is why the largest section of this first volume consists of Mostert's bibliography of publications on medieval communication. This extends in geographical area from Byzantium to Iberia and from the Scandinavian and Celtic lands to the Mediterranean. The period covered is equally wide, reaching from Antiquity through the medieval millennium (500-1500 AD) up to the invention of printing, the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. It must be emphasized that this bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive or all-inclusive. It is based on the bibliography which Mostert published in 1995,² supplemented by additions from colleagues and further thoughts and updates. Needless to say, a bibliography can only be a starting-point and check-point for a particular piece of research. Nevertheless an ambitious bibliography like this one, made by a specialist in the area and arranged by topics, sets out in an economical way the parameters of a subject.

In addition to the bibliography, Mostert publishes in this volume his own introduction to *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*. This provides an essential guide to questions of terminology. Scholars writing in different languages (notably English and German) have different expectations of the terms they use, even when the words employed look readily interchangeable from one language to another. What is meant by "communication" itself? Who is com-

¹ Item No. 294 in the bibliography in this volume.

² See No. 189 in the present bibliography.

municating what to whom? Messages come in many forms (not just in writing) and they are transmitted and received by all sorts of agencies. Medievalists have to remember that many forms of communication involved God and his saints as well as human agencies. In English the terms "literacy" and "orality" are recent inventions, which have become necessary as new questions are addressed. "Literacy" was first used by educationalists about a century ago and "orality" has only come into vogue in the last twenty years. Terms in English are not as flexible as they are in German, which has words to describe the "process of literacy/becoming literate", and German can use paradoxical terms ("literalized orality" and "oral literacy") without them looking perverse. The use of such new terms is essential, as we still lack many words to describe how communication works. Forms of "non-verbal communication", for example, are very important and we have no really satisfactory term for them. The new research exemplified in this book emphasizes how writing in itself is only one aspect of communication. Furthermore, in the inventive hands of medieval monks writing took on the most extraordinary forms which transcended anything the classical Greeks and Romans had ever attempted.

Mostert's bibliography proceeds from theories about literacy in anthropology, sociology and psychology to historical surveys of literacy in Europe and the world; orality, ritual and non-literate forms of communication come next because they were in use long before literacy was introduced and they continue to interact with literacy. The "Production and use of written texts" in medieval society is not reached until section 8, which is halfway through the bibliography. From there it follows a more conventional course, through the various ways in which writing was used culminating in "Literature" (section 14), until it reaches section 15 on "Religion and writing". This leads to the concluding section (no. 16) on "The symbolism of the book", a theme which takes us once more beyond literacy as it is conventionally understood, since a book can serve as a symbol without it being widely read. In the liturgy of the medieval Church splendid books, their bindings encrusted with jewels and their pages illuminated with gold-leaf and colours, were ceremonially displayed by the priests for the laity to see and venerate. For Christian missionaries the books of Scripture, which they carried with them, were as important symbols of the new religion as baptism and the sign of the cross. Conversion to Christ and conversion to book learning were inseparable.

The bibliography makes clear why this volume is called *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* rather than *New Approaches to Medieval Literacy*. Section 3 on "Forms of non-verbal communication" includes smells, colours, gestures, clothes, the visual arts and music. The liturgy of the medieval Church

shows how well its priests understood the powers of "non-verbal communication". The smell of incense, the colours associated with different liturgical seasons (purple for Lent, white for Easter), the gestures of the sign of the cross and the hand raised in blessing, the vestments of the priest (recalling the splendour of ancient Rome), wall paintings and mosaics, jewelled reliquaries and flickering candelabra, the words of the celebrant and the responses merging into chant and music—all these things attracted the physical senses and engaged the feelings. The scholastic philosophers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from Abelard to Aquinas, presented Christianity as a series of propositions to be mastered by reasoning and studied through Aristotle's books as well as those of the Bible. As a result more people became literate, or—at least—more writing was done and kept for posterity. Nevertheless this intellectualism exposed weakness in Christian belief and hence also in many other aspects of social control and traditional norms. Neither the clergy, nor society as a whole, necessarily functioned better in the later Middle Ages when documents and learning were more widespread. Liturgy and ritual may have succeeded in uniting early medieval communities in a heart-felt faith, whereas literacy and reasoning fermented disputes.

Non-verbal forms of communication are so powerful because they directly engage the feelings through the physical senses. For similar reasons oral communication is often more effective than writing because it too engages the faculties of hearing and speaking directly. All writing depends on the prior formation of language and it makes no sense without speech; compared with language, writing is an ancillary and dependent technology. Written record can be extraordinarily productive in advancing thought, because it fixes statements and enables a reader or writer to refer back and reconsider what is stated, but it cannot be a substitute for thought. Every piece of writing needs an interpreter and it is reinterpreted every time it is read. Medieval readers inherited from the rhetoricians of Antiquity the idea that reading was essentially a speech act; it was the process of recovering and reconstituting a writer's thoughts. That is why emphasis was put on reading aloud in medieval societies; the commonest way of engaging with a book was by listening to it being read. The liturgical practice of reading or chanting extracts from the Bible is the most obvious example of this; much the same was done for the reading of secular literature in the halls and private chambers of castles and manor houses.

Mostert gives central importance in his bibliography to "oral communication" and "oral and written memory" (sections 5 and 6) in order to emphasize the priority of speech in communication. The section on "Literature" (no. 14) likewise begins with the paradox of "oral literature" and proceeds from there to

the general principles of its composition and performance, before considering specific literatures in their various vernacular written forms. Sometimes medieval society has been thought peculiar or primitive because it made such effective use of non-verbal and non-literate forms of communication. Modern societies have supposedly progressed beyond ritual gestures and the acting out of literature. Certainly modern societies differ from medieval ones in their insistence on the universal ability to read and write and in making literacy the gateway to employment and status at a minimal level. Nevertheless non-verbal forms of communication and orality are still central to the conduct of society. Much of the power of television depends on it being a visual experience which appears to be more truthful and real than any written record. The most important negotiations between business people or politicians still take place through face-to-face confrontation. Even academics, who have inherited the role of the clergy in being the chief propagandists for literacy, privilege orality over writing in their day-to-day conduct. Teaching is initiated through speech and face-to-face meetings. Machines have not yet been devised which can replicate effectively enough all the aspects of communication which are involved when one person communicates with another.

Within the thousand-year span of the Middle Ages from 500 to 1500 a division is often made at the eleventh century or the twelfth between an earlier period and a later one. Certainly this makes sense as far as the history of records is concerned, as the earlier period is much more thinly documented than the later one. At a guess, at least three quarters of all medieval manuscripts date from after 1200. Furthermore, many texts concerning the earlier period now exist only in later manuscripts. At present, estimates of total numbers are no more than guesses, as there is no central register of medieval libraries or archives, let alone of individual documents which number tens of thousands from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The task of surveying them all is daunting, but it may be possible to achieve something substantial with computers in the not too distant future through the digitization of texts and images.

In *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*,³ Patrick Geary has argued that the eleventh century is a significant turning point as far as written record is concerned. This is the very time in which the keepers of memory, especially the monks, reviewed their archives and books and deliberately created the historical records which we now have. They did this by throwing away documents they considered useless or irrelevant to their interests, by reconstructing and rewriting memorials of kings and noble families, and where necessary by forging new documents to tell the his-

³ No. 622 in the bibliography.

tory they wanted to pass on. Something of this sort seems to have occurred in old established monasteries throughout western Europe, and notably in Italy, Germany, France and England. We are left with the books and records they made with the "Phantoms of Remembrance" of Geary's title, bits of the buried past that refused to stay buried. This is, of course, the challenge which historians and archaeologists face in any period or place. Even where evidence is abundant, it may be deficient or misleading in crucial areas. Students of medieval books, which are such enticing objects in themselves with their beautiful layouts and illuminations, need to be constantly aware that they are not looking at raw historical evidence. These are constructs, which were made and kept so that we should know particular things about the past: why this monastery was entitled to a particular piece of land, or why that king triumphed over his enemies.

My *From Memory to Written Record*, by focusing on the period from the eleventh century to the thirteenth, gives the impression that a new era in the history of literacy began at this time. Certainly many more records survive from the twelfth century onwards, but this pattern of survival may give a misleading impression about the extent of literacy before 1100. The earlier medieval period is the more problematic one because so much remains hypothetical. There was not necessarily a progressive increase in literacy century by medieval century from a low point in the fifth century to a high point in the fifteenth. The articles in this volume are therefore most welcome, as they concentrate on the earlier period when the evidence is hardest to interpret.

Wolfert van Egmond's article on audiences raises large questions and answers them in specific ways. Who read the books which the monks made, and how did they read them? Were they read aloud? If so, would the audience have required a translator or did they know Latin? Had they been taught Latin, or was it their mother tongue? When did the status of Latin as a spoken language change? How did Christian missionaries, who had Latin as their official language, communicate with Germanic peoples? The answer to this last question seems to be that they used vernacular languages, while upholding Latin as the principal language of record and of the Roman Church. Fragments of writing in Germanic vernaculars survive from before 1100 and, thinking along the lines suggested by Geary, it may be possible that many more vernacular writings once existed but got discarded. England, exceptionally, held on to substantial parts of its legacy of Anglo-Saxon literature and records because the special circumstances of the Norman Conquest caused English monks to make every effort to preserve their distinctive heritage.

Mary Garrison, in her article on the preservation of medieval correspondence, emphasizes the contrast between copies of letters deliberately selected and collected into books by their senders or recipients and the actual originals discovered by archaeologists. The latter are extremely rare, and yet they are very precious to historians precisely because they are the documents which their owners chose to throw away or at least failed to keep. They discarded them in rubbish tips, as at Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall on the northern frontier of Roman Britain, or dropped them at the dockside as at Bryggen on the waterfront at Bergen in Norway. Only the acutest observation by archaeologists, using techniques developed from the 1950s onwards, has brought letters of this sort to light. Unlike medieval parchment manuscripts, these letters are written on hard materials: slivers of wood at Vindolanda, sticks inscribed with runes at Bergen, and birch bark at Novgorod. Individual finds have also occasionally been made of the wooden writing tablets, once covered with a surface of wax, which were used for taking notes.

These archaeological discoveries emphasize how writing was used for mundane purposes ("Send More Socks" in Mary Garrison's title); it was not restricted to ecclesiastical and religious functions, even though that is the impression given by the preservation of early medieval texts by monasteries. Nevertheless by no means all the letters discovered by archaeologists concern day-to-day business matters. At Bergen some of the rune-sticks have short Latin prayers on them (*Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*) and others contain nothing more than vernacular obscenities and insults. Whatever their purposes, the sticks with prayers and insults on them suggest that writing was in frequent use, and this is also the inference to draw from the archaeological evidence as a whole. Even though there are huge gaps in the archaeological record (the Vindolanda letters are a thousand years earlier than those from Bergen and Novgorod), these finds raise disconcerting questions for the historian of literacy. What proportion of the total output of writings are the medieval manuscripts which we now possess? Should we assume that many more people were literate than surviving manuscripts suggest? How did numbers vary from place to place and from period to period? In particular, have we underestimated the numbers who could read and write in the post-Roman period? If literacy was commonplace among the Roman army at Vindolanda in 100 AD, is it not possible that the Germanic "barbarians" (who were incorporated into later Roman armies) also became familiar with writing?¹

¹ I should emphasize that these are my questions and not Garrison's. She has rightly not posed questions which cannot be answered from the existing evidence.

Karl Heidecker's article on the use of charters in court cases concentrates on a few documents in order to draw out as much as possible from them. He describes nine cases, ranging in date from ca. 866 to 1104 and located in what is now Burgundy and Switzerland (these involve, among others, the great charter collections of the monasteries of Cluny and St. Gall). He concludes that the evidence does not allow for generalizations in the form of rules. We cannot say, for example, that documentary evidence prevailed over the spoken word; but neither can we say the opposite. From the cases discussed, it is difficult to see any progression or regression over time in the legal principles being applied. Indeed it is difficult to see what general legal principles were being applied. When the evidence is so scarce and scattered, it may not be possible to get beyond a series of anecdotes or portraits of particular cases. Furthermore, the very documents on which we have to rely to reconstruct these cases are themselves one-sided, as they typically consist of memoranda made by particular religious houses to justify themselves. In his conclusion Heidecker looks forward to producing a more sharply focused picture in the future. But, if Geary's metaphor of "Phantoms of Remembrance" is right, the full picture will always prove elusive. What is needed in the short term, as Heidecker points out, are better editions of many of the surviving documents.

Most medieval charters do not exist as originals, but as copies in later manuscripts. Even where originals exist (as at St. Gall for example), they are often unimpressive looking documents. They consist of single sheets of parchment without embellishment, other than the signatures and signs of the cross of the witnesses (generally, sealed charters do not begin until the twelfth century). By contrast, the books which Mariëlle Hageman discusses in her article are the originals and they were designed to look as impressive as possible. She asks what was the purpose of the magnificent "portraits" of crowned kings and emperors, which are found in some of the finest Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts. They are not anything as simple as records of particular coronations. Rather, they are images of authority which associate earthly rulers with the saints and the supernatural power of God. Coronation is a divine gift; that is why the hand of God is depicted emerging from the heavens and conferring the crown on the recipient. In liturgical books pictorial miniatures and illuminated lettering had been used from the seventh century or earlier to reinforce the majesty and splendour of the scriptural texts. Incorporating pictures of earthly kings and emperors in these books followed on from the practice of depicting biblical figures in them. In return for the wealth and protection which kings conferred upon them, monks presented them with books showing earthly rulers as superhuman and majestic figures.

These miniatures can only have been seen by a select few: by the monks who made and kept these books and by the king and his courtiers who were shown them on special occasions. Was any larger audience intended? Why undertake such elaborate and expensive work and then enclose it in books which few people ever saw? Images in books could not have functioned directly as royal propaganda for the general public. Possibly they provided models for larger paintings and certainly the books acted as points of reference for the liturgies in which the ruler displayed his majesty through crown-wearings and public ceremonial. Illuminated books and the miniatures within them, through their images as much as through the words of their texts, acted as a resource and a generator. What was encapsulated in the miniatures could be magnified and projected to larger audiences through liturgical ceremonies, just as their texts could be amplified through chant and music so that the sound filled a whole church.

"Non-verbal communication" is too negative a way to describe the power of liturgy and ritual because it suggests that words alone might have done a better job. "Non-verbal communication" is used here for lack of any better term for describing the indescribable. Medieval illuminated manuscripts were designed to transcend the written word and so they are not altogether amenable to verbal analysis. Writing is a protean tool; it can be used to create mysteries and elaborate fictions and equally it can define and clarify. Modern literacy programmes, as promoted by UNESCO for example, emphasize the practical advantages of writing. "Functional literacy" is so essential to the efficient operation of modern society that everyone is taught to read and write. This basic pragmatic literacy is assumed to be the foundation of western civilization and economic prosperity. Computers and word processors reinforce the assumption that written language essentially consists of units of information, which can be mutually exchanged in a market economy. Medieval people saw very different advantages and priorities in writing. The monks and artists who made the earliest illuminated manuscripts, together with the kings and aristocratic patrons who supported them, valued writing primarily for its religious power. This was not necessarily because they were morally better people than we are; rather, it was because the occult and artistic potentialities of writing were more attuned to their culture than its applications to information technology and mass instruction. Through their sacred books, the early Christian missionaries offered rulers a reinforcement of their authority and access to a "world-wide web" which extended from the legendary empire of Rome to the one true God who ruled the heavens.

In central Europe beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire, which is the subject of Anna Adamska's article in this volume, writing may not have been used at all before the missionaries arrived, though Slav and Hungarian merchants presumably came across Latin and Greek occasionally in commercial transactions. There, as everywhere else where Christianity was introduced, books were given special status. The conversion of the Slavs had been begun by Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, ostensibly under papal authority but in fact preferring the traditions of Greek evangelism which encouraged the use of vernacular written liturgies. They devised the glagolitic alphabet specifically for writing Slavonic written texts. Subsequently German missionaries brought in liturgical books in Latin and insisted that only they had the authority of the Roman Church. Competition between the Greek and Latin Churches meant that in the Czech lands in the eleventh century a bilingual written culture (in Latin and Slavic) was in existence, and occasionally even a trilingual culture (if a knowledge of Greek is included as well). As the Greek missionaries encouraged writing in the vernacular, one might have expected them to be much more influential than the Germans who insisted on the Latin rites of the Roman Church. However, the success in the long term of the Roman Church and the Latin liturgy in Poland and Hungary, and even in the Czech lands to a considerable extent, shows how closely written culture was connected to political power. By the year 1000 Latin was nobody's mother tongue, and yet in western and central Europe it was increasing rather than declining in power because it was treated by the Roman Church and intellectuals as the only true language of literacy. The high point of Latin writing came in the twelfth century with St. Bernard, Abelard, Hildebert of Lavardin, John of Salisbury, Otto of Freising, and many others.

All christianized medieval societies conferred extraordinary prestige on writing and devoted remarkable resources to the production of books and documents. Investment in monks and illuminated manuscripts may have consumed as large a proportion of the wealth of these societies as investment in schooling and information technology occupies in our own. Expertise in writing was deliberately confined at first to an elite of monks and clerics, but its effects were widespread and profound, if christianization and the new institutions it created are included among the consequences of "literateization". In their different ways the articles and bibliography in this volume show how medieval literacy was part of a larger and more inclusive network of communication, which extended far beyond written language itself. Computers, the Internet and other recent inventions in information technology demonstrate that literacy has a great diversity of forms and that it is subject to change. Medieval literacy used

parchment books and rolls, illuminated texts, sealed charters, quill pens, the Latin language—all forms of writing which are now archaic—and yet these forms persisted and renewed themselves for a thousand years or more. The artifacts of the Middle Ages are now preserved and exhibited in libraries, archives and museums throughout the world. Treating communication, in all its complexities, as a subject of historical research in its own right promises to be a fresh way to understand the past and also to reassess our own experience of literacy's changing forms and demands.

New Approaches to Medieval Communication?¹

MARCO MOSTERT

The question whether it is possible to approach medieval communication in a new way merits an answer. The bibliography at the end of this volume lists some 1580 publications on the subject: books, articles in journals and more than 800 contributions to collective works.² This massive scholarly output deals mostly with the Middle Ages; the rest deals either with earlier or later periods, or with theoretical problems which ought to be of interest to medievalists. If one considers the publication date of these collected volumes, monographs and journals, it is clear that they date mainly from the 1960s onwards (until the year 1963, which saw the publication of several seminal works,³ merely several dozens of publications have been included), with the tide rising in the 1980s (1984 was the first year in which more than 20 publications on the subject were published) and 1990s. From the year 1991 onwards, more than 50 publications per year have been included.⁴

¹ I would like to express my thanks to the members of the Utrecht "Pionier Project Verschriftelijking" for the ongoing discussion which is reflected in these pages.

² For brevity's sake, wherever possible in the notes reference is made to the numbered title descriptions in the bibliography.

³ Nos. 89 (GOODY and WAIT, 1963) and 157 (HAVELOCK, 1963), neither of which written by medievalists.

⁴ Until 1994, which shows a decrease (to a "mere" 48 publications) which continues after that year for two reasons. First, bibliographical research has to limit itself to the perusal of published bibliographies, and not all recent titles had passed the bibliographers; second, the discourse

The contributors to this volume do not claim to have themselves developed highly original approaches to medieval communication. Their approaches are not "new" in this sense. Rather, they address questions which have been raised fairly recently in medieval studies about communication, literacy and orality, in the hope that their provisional answers might show others ways in which to arrive at some cogent answers.

The question might be put whether medieval communication is in itself a valid subject for research. The implicit answer given by the very existence of this volume is affirmative. In order to substantiate it, a historiographical review of some of the evidence accumulated in the bibliography can be given. Many surveys of the debate on medieval literacy exist;⁵ to my knowledge, no survey of that debate in the context of medieval communication has as yet been attempted.

Communication as it is understood in this volume is a modern concept. We have to be clear about what it means in medieval studies before we can study medieval communication. On the basis of the literature on the subject, we may attempt to establish which forms and modes of communication were available to medieval men and women. Because written and oral modes have so far been at the centre of attention, we will pay attention to the words denoting the concepts of literacy and orality. As Anglo-Saxon and German scholarly traditions have been the most influential in this domain, we will limit ourselves to the terminology developed in those two languages. Once we are clear about what we mean when we talk about medieval communication, we may survey the contents of the publications on the subject. Finally, we may suggest some promising "new" approaches to medieval communication.

Communication and the Study of the Middle Ages

"Communication" and its German equivalent "Kommunikation" are relatively late arrivals in medieval studies. "Communication" first makes its appearance in 1979, as part of the title of Michael Richter's book on oral communication in England in the later Middle Ages.⁶ The word tends to be used initially for forms of non-written communication, be they oral⁷ or non-verbal.⁸ It may be used in

of medieval communication can be shown to be so much received into the mainstream of medieval studies that scholars no longer need to expressly refer to the subject by using the terminology developed for it in their titles.

⁵ Nos. 31-74.

⁶ No. 300.

⁷ Nos. 1248 (ASSMANN, 1980), 560 (VAN UYTFANGHE, 1984), 518 (KLEINSCHMIDT, 1988), 510

studies of daily life,⁹ more in particular of that of villagers.¹⁰ It is only very recently that the word is used for forms of communication practised by powerful laymen who are also able actively to use the written word. Gerd Althoff's use of "Kommunikation" in his studies of "political" and "symbolic" communication, which have been published from 1993 onwards,¹¹ have made an impact in Münster.¹² Rather than on the rulers' and subjects' ability to read, write, and understand the assumptions of written communication, the emphasis in his work is on the oral and non-verbal aspects of ritual. "Communication" denotes a topic different from that of writing and its uses. When oral and written modes of communication are compared, as in the case of *Early Irish Literature—Media and Communication*, an early volume in the Freiburg series *ScriptOralia*, published in 1989, the word "communication" seem to spring to mind because of the explicit reference to non-written communication.¹³ There are as yet no attempts to use the word "communication" as a neutral term to denote the study of the whole set of forms of communication available to medieval man, together with the psychological and social implications of their use. Medieval history does not as yet seem to have grasped the importance of the insights of sociologists of literature, who correctly see writing as merely one of the forms of communication which may or may not be available in any given society.¹⁴ Or if medievalists have read their studies, they hardly ever refer to them.

Because of the paucity of publications dealing explicitly with medieval communication, there have been very few attempts to describe what the term "medieval communication" may stand for. Apparently, medievalists are content to leave discussion of the concept to other disciplines. When they are merely dealing with an aspect of communication, they may be excused for assuming its meaning to be self-evident. When, as in the case of the present collection, the word is prominent in the title, an explanation of what is meant by "medieval communication" is necessary.

(BANNIARD, 1992) and 525 (RAIBLE, 1994).

⁸ Nos. 410 (McCLINTOCK, 1981) and 1543 (NEWBOLD, 1997).

⁹ No. 235 (ed. HUNDSBICHLER, 1992).

¹⁰ No. 1103 (WALZ, 1992).

¹¹ Nos. 477 (1993), 478 (1996) and 182 (1997).

¹² Nos. 499 (SCHULTE, 1997) and 1177 (KELLER, 1998).

¹³ No. 1469 (ed. TRISTRAM, 1989).

¹⁴ See, e.g. No. 12 (ESCARPIT, 1984).

Communication

It is common knowledge that without communication human society is inconceivable. A society presupposes collaboration, and to enable this, communication, the exchange of information, is essential. Information comprises both statements (knowledge, ideas, beliefs) and instructions (purposes, values and norms). Thanks to the exchange of information people may influence one another's hearts and minds. Without that influence no durable society is feasible; nor would it be possible for human individuals to hold their own biologically or psychologically. Communication aids the satisfaction of biological needs: obtaining food and drink, protection, safety and procreation. Not only in his physical growth, also in his psychological development man depends on communication. It also plays a role in the development and satisfaction of interpersonal needs: recognition, status, affection, building the image that an individual has of himself and of his (social and physical) environment.

Some fifty ways in which human beings may communicate among themselves have been distinguished, and dozens of disciplines study communication. It is therefore not surprising that many definitions have been proposed, most of which go back to the theory which the electrical engineer Claude Shannon developed for the American Bell company. Shannon published his *Mathematical Theory of Communication* in 1948.¹⁵ To understand this theory, profound mathematical knowledge is necessary. Yet Shannon's outline has proven influential outside the physical sciences. He distinguishes (1) a source of information, (2) a sender which encodes the message, (3) a channel which conveys the encoded message from the sender to the receiver, (4) a receiver which decodes the message, (5) the destination of the message, and (6) interference which causes the signal produced by the sender not to be received intact by the receiver. This outline applies to all forms of communication. In the case of human speech, for instance the source is the person who wants to impart a message, the sender is his voice which encodes the message in certain vibrations of the air, the channel is the air through which the sound waves travel, the receiver is the human ear which decodes the vibrations of the human voice, the destination is the listener (or listeners), and the interference is caused by all sorts of more or less fortuitous circumstances (such as air vibrations produced by others than the speaker) which disturb the transmission of information.

Shannon was interested in the maximum of information that could be transmitted per unit of time, with the minimum of interference. He was not interested

¹⁵ No. 28 (SHANNON, 1949).

in the message as such. Nor did he devote attention to the process of communication in which the "destination", the person for whom the information is intended, answers a message and thus becomes a "source", while the original "source" becomes the "destination" of the answer. Many have tinkered with Shannon's elegant model in order to address its limitations. In the "process model of communication" of Oomkes, to take a random example, attention is paid to the contents of messages and the interaction which takes place when two human beings communicate.¹⁶ He defines communication as follows:

Communication is the exchange of symbolic information which takes place between human beings who are conscious of one another's immediate or mediated presence. This information is given, received and interpreted partially consciously, partly unconsciously.¹⁷

This definition, too, does not seem to be wholly adequate. Although we obtain much information from the unconscious behaviour of the people we meet, such signals are quite different from consciously encoded messages. The sender must be conscious that he is providing information before we can speak of communication. An example may explain this. In the Early Middle Ages it was possible to indicate social status by hair-dress. The long hair of the Merovingian kings signified their royal blood. Those whom one wanted to exclude from royal succession were shorn. Hair-dress could therefore be used as a "medium" for the transmission of messages. When king Chilperic I was murdered at Chelles under mysterious circumstances, his body was recognized by its copious shock of hair.¹⁸ However, Chilperic was no longer conscious of the message he sent: he no longer had the possibility *not* to send this signal, for instance by covering up his long hair. A dead man does not himself "communicate". In the study of medieval communication the exchange of consciously encoded messages is privileged.

The Forms of Medieval Communication

Any attempt to reduce the fullness of medieval communicative behaviour to a rigid scheme risks to be both banal and soporific. Such a scheme has to take into account not only commonly known facts about the period, but also much that is

¹⁶ No. 26 (OOMKES, 1986), p. 32.

¹⁷ No. 6 (OOMKES, 1986), p. 44.

¹⁸ J.M. WALLACE-HADRILL, *The Long-Haired Kings and other Studies in Frankish History* (London, 1962), pp. 148-248, esp. pp. 156-158, 162, 232, 245.

common to all human communication. However, a summary might be helpful of questions which might in principle be asked about any communicative behaviour encountered in medieval sources. This summary should obviously not be confused with a fully-fledged methodology or research strategy.¹⁹ With this proviso, the main variables in early medieval communicative behaviour seem to be the following:²⁰

- 1 *Who are represented by the "senders"?*
1. supernatural beings: God; Christ; the Virgin Mary; angels; devils and demons; saints deceased; the souls of the deceased. 2. human beings, divided into 2.1 non-christians: Jews, muslims; and 2.2 christians, divided into 2.2.1 clergy: secular clergy; regular clergy and 2.2.2 non-clergy: king; higher aristocracy; lower aristocracy; urban patricians; other town dwellers; agrarian population.
- 2 *Which is the sender's sex?*
male; female; none.
- 3 *Which is the sender's age?*
child; adolescent; grown-up; elderly; none.
- 4 *Which forms of communication can be distinguished?*
attitudes; gestures; physical contact; visual signs; olfactory signs; flavours; auditive, non-verbal signs; speech acts; writing as author; reproducing written texts; reading aloud; reading silently; listening; commenting; a combination.
- 5 *What is the subject of the message?*
concerning the social function of the sender; concerning training or education for a social role; concerning the image the social group of the sender has of itself and others; concerning social organization (normative and sanctioning; concerning government or management; concerning the relations with the supernatural; magical; concerning the organization of communication; a combination.

¹⁹ Other important questions may have to be included, e.g. where does the "sender" or "receiver" come from? What is the esteem for "sender", "receiver", or message? Is the message serious or jocular? Is it meant to convey truth or fiction? etc.

²⁰ Unfortunately, it is not possible to apply these questions *quantitatively* to medieval documents. The results would prove misleading, as the data are not suitable. Social groups are difficult to identify, a person's age is hardly ever known, etc. Qualitatively, these questions can be answered only when we address the difficult task of trying to establish standardized descriptive criteria.

6 *Who is represented by the "receivers"?*

See (1). Add: humankind; christendom; the sender himself; a combination.

7 *Which is the receiver's sex?*

See (2). Add: combination.

8 *Which is the receiver's age?*

See (3). Add: combination.

A few explanatory notes on details of this questionnaire may be necessary. In the Middle Ages, supernatural beings were considered to have properties which allowed them to communicate freely with mortals. This means that they have to figure among the groups of senders (1) and receivers (6) of messages, together with the social groups studied until now. The study of the symbolic uses of writing is greatly helped by the provisional inclusion of these medieval "realities". When we want to inform or instruct others, we need our senses, the receivers to decode the messages. Our message has to be encoded in olfactory, sapid, tactile, audible or visual form. Information, according to our twentieth-century ideas, may only be transmitted via physical media, and apart from his senses man has no "receivers" in Shannon's sense. If, in the Middle Ages, someone thought a supernatural being to communicate a message by immaterial means, his appearance was usually described as if it was perceived by the ordinary senses.

The list of subjects of the messages communicated (5) is obviously not complete: those listed concern mainly types of social activities with which historians are well acquainted. Some readers may be surprised to find that neither literature, art, nor music is represented by itself; they seem subsumed under the heading "concerning the image the social group of the sender has of itself and others". This does not represent an aversion from aesthetics. Medieval communication, however, is an historical rather than merely a literary or artistic subject. All forms, products and traces of acts of communication are studied for the light they may shed on the subject.

It will be clear that not all forms of communication were available to all medieval men, nor to all medieval societies. More in particular, this is the case with the written word. And here a problem arises. When thinking about communication, recent research has a tendency to focus its attention to oral and written messages. Verbal forms are indeed a privileged part of communication. Yet non-verbal phenomena which may be apprehended by our senses are also potential channels of communication.

Verbal forms of communication are privileged because they concern the spoken and written natural languages. No society is conceivable without language. No human society is known to do without one, and we can hardly imagine how a group of humans could accomplish any but the simplest acts in its absence. How could one, without language, profit from the experience of others, let the others know one's plans, or organize the tasks to be performed? Medieval societies, too, obviously attached great importance to verbal communication, and it is no coincidence that many studies of medieval communication are devoted to the spoken and written word.

Audible and visible media are extremely suitable for group use. The light perceived by the eye and the vibrations of the air captured by the ear may be "received" over relatively long distances. Whereas smell, taste and touch demand the immediate vicinity of sender and receiver, these constraints are absent in the case of sound and vision. Thus, it is possible to communicate with more people at the same time. No doubt this possibility is one of the reasons why one has tried to give durability to visual and audible signs. Many of these signs (for instance gestures or exclamations) disappear, but they can be re-encoded in visual images or written texts.

The spoken word is privileged by its flexibility and ease of use, but as a means of communication it is constrained by place and time: a discourse may be made only at a certain time, at a certain place. Man has learnt to control time and space by systems of coded material traces, such as writing, which call upon the eye. The relationship between writing and other forms of communication underwent important changes during the Middle Ages. The development of medieval writing has to be studied in relation to changing social institutions. Writing was (as it still is) organized in social systems of producers and consumers of written texts. These systems interacted with other social systems, and technological innovations in written culture are demanded by practical, social needs. might even argue that writing itself is also an institution, with its own canons.²¹

Literacy, orality and the study of the Middle Ages

Of all forms of medieval communication, the written word has benefited most from scholarly attention. Indeed, the study of communication is unthinkable without the study of reading and writing, if only because the ability to participate ac-

²¹ On literary and other codes, see No. 265, referring to B. HERRNSTEIN SMITH, "Contingencies of value", in: *Canons*, ed. R. VON HALLBERG (Chicago, 1983), pp. 5-93.

tively in written culture tends to colour and change the attitude towards all other forms of communication. The study of written texts is as old as writing itself, and the study of the medieval written word predates the explicit interest in medieval communication by many centuries. The sixteenth- and century scholars who founded historical criticism may be said to be the forerunners of the present-day students of medieval communication. Diplomatics, palaeography, philology and the other traditional auxiliary sciences of medieval history continue to contribute to the better understanding of communication in the Middle Ages.

Nowadays, in the English speaking world the word "literacy" tends to be used for the study of all and any forms of written communication. Its possible meanings have inflated since the subject became *en vogue* in the 1980s and 1990s. In a study on "The extent of literacy in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" published in 1930, J.W. Adamson took the word "in the humblest sense" merely to connote "the ability to read an English book, whether printed or in manuscript".²² This definition had the merit of being relatively clear. V.H. Galbraith, writing in 1935, also merely meant "the ability to read and write" by it.²³

Things changed in 1963 with the publication of "The consequences of literacy" by the anthropologist Jack Goody and the literary historian Ian Watt.²⁴ Goody's ideas, as well as the ideas of the classicist Eric A. Havelock, were to have a far-reaching influence in medieval studies.²⁵ These authors suggested writing to be a possible motor of historical change. If they were right, and if the human mind was reorganized by learning to read and write, then instances of this reorganization took place whenever someone became conversant with these technical skills. If the introduction of writing enabled social change, then the new forms of social and political life that developed during the Middle Ages might have been tributary to "literacy".

The first medievalists to use the English word "literacy" in the title of a publication after the thinking of the social scientists and classicists had sunk in, were F.H. Bäuml and E. Spielmann in their 1974 study of the *Nibelungenlied*.²⁶ Bäuml was also one of the first medievalists to address the problem of literacy in a theoretical article, which appeared in *Speculum* in 1980.²⁷ Meanwhile, the first surveys of literacy in individual medieval societies to appear: on the bookishness of the modern Icelanders and their assumption of the transmission of saga knowl-

²² No. 292, p. 163.

²³ No. 1092, reprint p. 78.

²⁴ No. 89.

²⁵ Cf. the "Index of modern authors and editors" of the bibliography, s.v.

²⁶ No. 1393.

²⁷ No. 32.

edge;²⁸ on the literacy of the late medieval Yorkshire gentry;²⁹ on Anglo-Saxon England;³⁰ on the Lollards;³¹ Byzantium;³² late medieval Florence and Venice;³³ ... The list is almost endless. Simultaneously, attempts were made by medievalists to further refine the concept of literacy, for instance by adding adjectives to it. Thus we have visual, female, lay, cultural, early, professional, runic, Jewish, verbal, Christian, pragmatic and religious literacy.³⁴ In most cases the use of an adjective is elucidating; in some it creates metaphors for something which ought not to be termed literacy. It is merely evidence of the use of the current buzzword.

Quite often "literacy" is used in opposition to "orality". "Oral" has been common to denote spoken as opposed to written modes of communication for a long time.³⁵ The techniques of "oral tradition", the transmission of knowledge without recourse to writing, have been a preoccupation of historians and literary historians for some time.³⁶ The use of the term, however, seems relatively recent. Spencer Cosmos used it in 1977 in his study of Bede's *Life* of St. Aidan.³⁷ Since then, among other things due to the influence of the Belgian anthropologist Vansina, who was trained as a medieval historian,³⁸ the term has become current. In 1986 a journal called *Oral Tradition* started to appear.³⁹

The word "orality" seems to appear in medieval studies as late as 1986, when Evelyn Birge Vitz uses it in a study of the Old French octosyllabic couplet.⁴⁰ She explicitly refers to Walter J. Ong's synthesis of 1982, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*.⁴¹ Ong can indeed be said to have done for orality what Goody and Watt did for literacy. In the third chapter of his book, "Some

²⁸ No. 328 (TOMMASSON, 1975).

²⁹ No. 302 (VALE, 1976).

³⁰ No. 291 (WORMALD, 1977).

³¹ No. 1509 (ASTON, 1977).

³² No. 175 (BROWNING, 1978).

³³ No. 252 (HYDE, 1979).

³⁴ Visual: No. 410 (MCCLINTOCK, 1981); lay: No. 258 (LAWRENCE, 1985); cultural: No. 44 (GATCH, 1986); early: Nos. 306 (HARVEY, 1987) and 333 (FRANKLIN, 1987); professional: No. 768 (GONZALEZ CASANOVAS, 1990); runic: No. 284 (DEROLEZ, 1990); Jewish: No. 343 (REIF, 1990); verbal: No. 422 (DIEBOLD, 1992); female: No. 1116 (MCKITTERICK, 1992); Christian: No. 342 (BEDOS-REZAK, 1993); pragmatic: No. 1137 (ed. BRITNELL, 1996); religious: No. 1519 (RITARD, 1997).

³⁵ Cf., e.g. No. 1280 (CURSCHMANN, 1967).

³⁶ Nos. 651-722, 205, 327, 1531.

³⁷ No. 1531.

³⁸ Nos. 647-649.

³⁹ No. 667.

⁴⁰ No. 1389 (VITZ, 1986).

⁴¹ No. 129 (ONG, 1982); No. 1389 (VITZ, 1986), p. 300.

psychodynamics of orality", he outlines the differences between thinking in oral and literate societies⁴²—and, as like Goody and Watt, sees major adjustments to consciousness thanks to access to literacy.⁴³ Because of the debate about orality in anthropological circles,⁴⁴ medievalists, apart from literary historians who used it in a restricted sense,⁴⁵ have tended to avoid the use of "orality" for about a decade;⁴⁶ since 1990 the term has gradually become accepted.⁴⁷ In general, though, the use of "orality" remains restricted to certain forms of oral communication; and there is a tendency among medievalists not to speculate about orality's possible implications for thought or the organization of society.

The German terminology for literacy and orality had a slightly different development. The nearest equivalent to "literacy" is "Schriftlichkeit". In a posthumous publication of Fritz Rörig, published in 1952, he distinguished between "Schriftwesen", the technical term for the conditions of the production of the written word in document or book form,⁴⁸ and "Schriftlichkeit", the degree to which the written word was used in any period. If this degree is so extensive that the use of writing may be assumed for everyone, then "general literacy" may be said to exist; if the use of writing in public and private life is absent or virtually absent, then "illiteracy" ("*Schriftlosigkeit*") may be said to exist.⁴⁹ The development of the meaning of "Schriftlichkeit", influenced by Anglo-Saxon studies of literacy,⁵⁰ is parallel to the development of the meaning of "literacy". In German, too, adjectives have been developed, so that one has, for instance conceptual, vernacular, and pragmatic literacy.⁵¹ "Schriftkultur", the culture of the written word, one finds used as

⁴² No. 129 (ONG, 1982), pp. 31-77.

⁴³ No. 129 (ONG, 1982), pp. 78-116.

⁴⁴ Nos. 61 (ONG, 1987), 70 (STREET, 1987), 48 (HENIGE, 1988), and especially Nos. 82 (FINNEGAN, 1988) and 42 (FINNEGAN, 1990).

⁴⁵ Nos. 1390 (VITZ, 1987), 46 (GREEN, 1990), 273 (GREEN, 1990), 174 (BEATON, 1990). Green, e.g. (No. 46) focuses on the implications of orality for the history of reading (preparing No. 896 (GREEN, 1994)).

⁴⁶ An exception is No. 233 (GELLICH, 1988).

⁴⁷ See, e.g. Nos. 781 (MEWS, 1990), 290 (VANDERBILT, 1990), 286 (MILLER, 286), 718 (MURRAY, 1994), 316 (STEVENSON, 1995) and 268 (JNNE, 1998).

⁴⁸ See W. WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1896), dealing with the production of written texts and its conditions.

⁴⁹ No. 207, p. 29. "Illiteracy" is also used in No. 31 (BAUML, 1980), written by an Austrian-born Germanist, and in No. 415 (CAMILLE, 1984). "Illiteracy" exclusively refers to absence of the written word; it should not be confused with "orality".

⁵⁰ See, e.g. the literature referred to in No. 75, 24 (1990), pp. 390 sqq.

⁵¹ "Konzeptuelle S.": No. 57 (OESTERREICHER, 1993); "volkssprachliche S.": No. 421 (CURSCHMANN, 1996); for "pragmatische Schriftlichkeit", see *infra*, p. 000.

a synonym of "Schriftlichkeit", although sometimes with a certain emphasis on the products of writing.⁵²

Of the German adjectives applied to "Schriftlichkeit", undoubtedly "pragmatisch" has been the most useful. Used by Brigitte Schlieben-Lange in 1979,⁵³ "pragmatische Schriftlichkeit" was taken up in Münster. There, in 1986, the German research project 231 ("Sonderforschungsbereich 231") started with the aim of studying "all forms of literacy which directly serve functional actions, or which were meant to teach human actions and behaviour by making available knowledge".⁵⁴ Such forms of writing were deemed "pragmatisch". Written texts were studied which were demanded by the practice of daily life ("Lebenspraxis"), such as charters and statutes, but also, in the case of the literary elites, encyclopedias or collections of learned law. The Münster project ends in 1999. In the fifteen years of its existence the concept of "pragmatische Schriftlichkeit" has exerted a profound influence on German scholarship.⁵⁵ Recently, Richard Britnell, of the University of Durham, edited a volume on *Pragmatic Literacy East and West, 1200-1300*, in which he expresses his indebtedness for the term to Thomas Behrmann, a representative of the Münster school: "pragmatic literacy", according to Britnell, "is broader in scope than 'official literacy' or 'administrative literacy', since it includes the use of writing for practical purposes other than law and administration. It has fewer ambiguities than 'practical literacy', which would otherwise be the closest alternative".⁵⁶ The problem posed by the term is, that once the demands for written texts by the literate, mainly clerical elites are also to be studied under the heading of "pragmatische Schriftlichkeit" (as has been done in several partial projects of the Münster "Sonderforschungsbereich"), the boundaries with what one might term "mandarin literacy" become fluid.⁵⁷

As "literacy" is often opposed to "orality" in English, so in German "Schriftlichkeit" is opposed to "Mündlichkeit" or "Oralität".⁵⁸ "Mündlichkeit" is first used in 1979, in the title of a collection of essays on oral poetry, edited by two Dutch scholars.⁵⁹ The concept has clearly been borrowed from Anglo-Saxon liter-

⁵² Nos. 266 (EHLERS, 1989), 35 (BRANDT, 1993), 245 (RAIBL, 1993), 955 (ed. ERFURT and GESSINGER, 1993) and 1140 (ed. SCHIEFFER, 1996).

⁵³ No. 237 (SCHLIEBEN-LANGE, 1979).

⁵⁴ No. 75, 24 (1990), p. 389.

⁵⁵ See, e.g. Nos. 1165 (ed. KELLER and BUSCH, 1991) and 1138 (ed. KELLER, 1992).

⁵⁶ No. 1137 (ed. BRITNELL, 1996), p. vii.

⁵⁷ See for an approximative distinction between pragmatic literacy and mandarin literacy the subjects of the titles listed in sections 13 and 11, with section 10 maintaining an uneasy balance between the two (cf. No. 1026 for one of the reasons).

⁵⁸ Seldom used: Nos. 571 (HOLTUS, 1989), 1150 and 1170 (both DILCHER, 1996).

⁵⁹ No. 1296 (ed. N. VOORWINDEN and M. DE HAAN, 1979).

ary scholarship. It has been at the centre of attention in the Freiburg school, with Wolfgang Raible expressly calling its programme of research "Transitions and tensions between orality (*"Mündlichkeit"*) and literacy (*"Schriftlichkeit"*)".⁶⁰

The German terminological development is different in that German has the possibility to form single words denoting the development of literacy and orality, a possibility not available in English. In 1980, Michael Giesecke wrote of the vernacular and the "development of literacy (*"Verschriftlichung"*) of life" (in inverted commas) in late medieval Germany.⁶¹ *"Verschriftlichung"* became generally accepted in the 1990s,⁶² and its process character was strengthened by the use of *"Verschriftlichungsprozeß"* ("the process of the development of literacy").⁶³ Another useful German compound is *"Verschriftung"*, the (development of the) writing down of texts; one might say that the more texts are written down (*"verschriftet"*), the more the *"Schriftlichkeit"* of a society develops, together with the psychological and social implications that entails (*"Verschriftlichung"*). In 1993, Wulf Oesterreicher was the first to make the distinction between *"Verschriftung"* and *"Verschriftlichung"* explicit.⁶⁴

In the light of this terminological development, it is understandable to see the substitution of the opposition *"Mündlichkeit"*–*"Schriftlichkeit"* by that of *"Mündlichkeit"*–*"Verschriftlichung"* in publications by Gerhard Dilcher and others.⁶⁵ The new opposition implicitly stresses both the static character of orality and the dynamic character of literacy. Once *"Verschriftlichung"* had been given a name, degrees (*"Stufen"*) of literacy could be distinguished.⁶⁶ The interaction between oral and literate forms of communication could be perceived more clearly, or at least given a less ambivalent terminology than in English. In 1989 Christoph Daxelmüller wrote of *"literalized orality"* (*"literarisierte Mündlichkeit"*) and *"oral literacy"* (*"mündliche Schriftlichkeit"*);⁶⁷ four years later, Franz Bäuml

⁶⁰ No. 76 (RAIBLE, 1986). See also, e.g. Nos. 475 (ed. RAIBLE, 1988), 281 (ed. ERZGRÄBER and VOLK, 1988), 1469 (ed. TRANTER and TRISTRAM, 1989) and 1274 (ed. RÖHRICH and LINDIG, 1989).

⁶¹ No. 1006 (GIESECKE, 1980).

⁶² Nos. 1146 (BUSCH, 1991), 1168 (BEHRMANN, 1991), 806 (RAIBLE, 1993), 57 (OESTERREICHER, 1993), 1088 (WOLLASCH, 1993), 617 (ALTHOFF, 1994), 956 (FRANK, 1994) and 574 (RIEHL, 1995).

⁶³ Nos. 1151 (KELLER, 1988), 1064 (TREDE, 1994) and No. 707 (BUSCH, 1995).

⁶⁴ No. 57 (OESTERREICHER, 1993); see my review of No. 230 (ed. SCHAEFER, 1993) in: *Francia* 23.1 (1996), pp. 248–249. See also Nos. 1041 (MEIER, 1994) and 137 (ed. EHLE and SCHAEFER, 1998).

⁶⁵ Nos. 1150 and 1170 (both DILCHER, 1996), and No. 137 (ed. EHLE and SCHAEFER, 1998).

⁶⁶ No. 1156 (MIHM, 1999).

⁶⁷ No. 1060 (DAXELMÜLLER, 1989).

talked of the same intermediate forms between absolutized orality and literacy.⁶⁸ Recently, "Verschriftung" and "Verschriftlichung" have been used in relation with changes in the media of communication,⁶⁹ a use of terminology which may contribute towards the neutralization of certain still prevalent value judgments on the various oral, written and non-verbal forms of communication.

The rapid review of the English and German terminologies for the study of medieval communication, literacy and orality could be repeated for the other languages in which work on the subject is being written. The word "communication" seems the least ambiguous (although French titles sometimes use "communication" in the titles of studies dealing with roads and waterways). There are problems with the other words we have examined. French, for instance, lacks words for "literacy" or "Schriftlichkeit" (although "culture de l'écrit" comes close in meaning to "literacy" and "Schriftkultur"), but has "oralité" for "orality". Dutch has the same flexibility as German, so that "verschriftelijking" can be used and understood as German "Verschriftlichung". But Dutch scholars share the problems of their German colleagues when they try to translate their terms in English.⁷⁰ The Slav languages have their own problems with "literacy" and "Verschriftlichung".⁷¹ But although the notions of literacy and the development of literacy are difficult to put into words in some of the European languages, this has by no means stopped work to be done on the subject of medieval communication—even if some scholars, when they published their studies, were not aware that they might be extremely useful to self-confessed students of communication.

What has been accomplished in the study of medieval communication?

Perusal of the bibliography makes clear that publications whose titles lack the words we have discussed have a bearing on our subject. Medieval communication as it is understood by the authors of this volume has been studied in one way or another from the beginning of this century—and even long before that. Although the bibliography represents only a small selection of work published before the 1960s and 1970s, it may be helpful to see roughly since when publications ap-

⁶⁸ No. 267 (BAUML, 1993).

⁶⁹ No. 137 (ed. EHLE and SCHAEFER).

⁷⁰ The inept "literalization", proposed in the translation of the Utrecht "Pionier project Verschriftelijking" leads to misunderstanding.

⁷¹ See the contribution of Anna Adamska to his volume (No. 330).

peared, perusal of which may still be worthwhile at the end of the twentieth century.⁷²

Not surprisingly, palaeographers, diplomatists, codicologists and historians of reading have produced valuable work on the production and use of written texts long before the subject of medieval communication had been given a name. The topic of publication before the advent of printing was treated at least as long ago as 1913;⁷³ that of the production of books in the vernacular in 1920;⁷⁴ and the 1925 and 1927 publications of Joseph Balogh on praying, reading and writing aloud are still unsurpassed in the history of late antique and medieval reading.⁷⁵ The interest of the palaeographical study of punctuation for the history of reading, however, did not become apparent until 1968,⁷⁶ and the study of what space between words might mean for literate behaviour started only in 1979.⁷⁷

The study of non-verbal communication, too, including as it does the objects studied by art history and musicology, has a long pedigree. Studies of smells, colours, clothes and symbolic objects other than what we nowadays tend to call works of art, are relatively scarce. The study of gestures, though it too has been broached before the Second World War,⁷⁸ has been vigorously taken in hand by August Nitschke from 1967 onwards.⁷⁹ He has been joined more recently by other scholars.⁸⁰ Important work has been done on the interaction between the visual arts and other media, especially texts.⁸¹ Michael Camille's 1985 publication "Seeing and reading: Some visual implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy" betrays by its very title the influence of the literacy debate on recent art historical work on this topic.⁸²

⁷² With the exception of the symbolism of the book, correspondence, and mandarin literacy, the sections on which are too short to warrant any serious consideration. Similarly, the "empty" section on the preservation of written texts has not been taken into account. It is clear, however, that, had these four sections been developed fully, the earliest publications included ought to have dated from the nineteenth century ...

⁷³ No. 833 (ROOT, 833).

⁷⁴ No. 842 (DEANSLEY, 1920).

⁷⁵ Nos. 859 (BALOGH, 1925) and 860 (BALOGH, 1927).

⁷⁶ No. 968 (MOREAU-MARECHAL, 1968). See Nos. 946-991.

⁷⁷ No. 983 (SAENGER, 1979).

⁷⁸ Nos. 379 (LOMMATZSCH, 1910) and 374 (DELLING, 1925)

⁷⁹ Nos. 382-389.

⁸⁰ Of whom the most important are Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand (Nos. 392-394) and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Nos. 395-397).

⁸¹ Nos. 413-457. Early examples are Nos. 449 (STAMMLER, 1962), 454 (ed. FRÜHMORGEN-VOSS and OTT, 1975) and 437 (MOIRAND, 1978).

⁸² No. 415 (CAMILLE, 1985).

The investigation of the teaching of reading and writing still has to start with Henri Pirenne's 1929 article in the first issue of the *Annales* on the instruction of medieval merchants, and his 1934 article on the education of laymen in Merovingian France—if only to understand later modifications of the ideas he espoused.⁸³

Medieval memory and the differences between oral and literate ways of remembering and forgetting became an object of research with Helga Hajdu's 1936 study of mnemotechnical literature.⁸⁴ The past as it was experienced in primarily oral medieval societies was first explored in 1970 by Michael Clanchy in "Remembering the past and the good old law", an article predating much of the later concern with oral tradition.⁸⁵

Surprisingly, the relation between writing and the religion of medieval laymen. There has been some interest in heretics,⁸⁶ possibly because of the alleged links between Protestantism and the printing press at the very end of the Middle Ages. Hagiographical texts, too, have been studied for what they might reveal about the oral modes of communication of laymen.⁸⁷ Similarly, studies of the magic of writing have provided some clues as to the uses of the written word by illiterates.⁸⁸ But much may still be profitably explored in this domain.

The study of the spoken word in the Middle Ages is still interested in the question of the end of Latin as a natural language. Ferdinand Lot's question of 1931 (when did one cease to speak Latin?)⁸⁹ has been often restated (for instance in Michael Richter's review of the debate published in 1983)⁹⁰ but never satisfactorily answered.⁹¹ The problem of the vernaculars, the province of modern philologists, has recently also been addressed by historians interested in the use of the vernacular in documents.⁹²

⁸³ Nos. 738 (PIRENNE, 1929) and 749 (PIRENNE, 1934).

⁸⁴ No. 625 (HAJDU, 1936).

⁸⁵ No. 638 (CLANCHY, 1970), referring to No. 647 (VANSINA, 1961), in the first English edn. of 1965 at p. 168.

⁸⁶ Nos. 1509 (ASTON, 1977) and 1510 (BILLER, 1986) are the first.

⁸⁷ Nos. 1528-1552, the earliest being Nos. 1547 (VAN UYTFANGHE, 1976), 1531 (COSMOS, 1977) and 1541 (KRESTEN, 1977).

⁸⁸ Nos. 1553-1567; the earliest: Nos. 1566 (POULIN, 1977), 1556 (DÚWEL, 1988) and 1562 (MULLER, 1988).

⁸⁹ No. 555 (LOT, 1931).

⁹⁰ No. 557 (RICHTER, 1983).

⁹¹ See Nos. 543-562 and, for a summary of the different views, the contribution of Wolfert van Egmond to this volume (No. 1546).

⁹² Early examples are Nos. 588 (DE MEYER, 1974; corrected recently by No. 587 (BURGERS, 1996), 595 (MIGLIO, 1986), 599 (VRIES, 1989) and 593 (KOCH, 1990).

Literary historians had long before the 1960s asked themselves questions about the relationship between oral and written verbal art. They had noticed remarks in the written texts they studied which seemed to suggest that oral versions might have preceded the written versions they were left with. Already before the Second World War appeared *The Growth of Literature*. It was a three-volume attempt, edited by H. Munroe Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick,⁹³ to answer the question whether under similar circumstances similar forms of literature were likely to be produced. They compared European medieval forms of heroic literature with twentieth-century heroic literature produced all over the globe. Among other things they asked how writing changed the production of literary works. Even before that, in 1928, the American classicist Milman Parry had discovered that in the oral composition of literary works such as epics formulas were used, stop-gaps to fill out verses.⁹⁴ In 1960 Albert B. Lord's *The Singer of Tales* appeared,⁹⁵ in which the views of Parry were presented anew, and ever since has been a veritable hunt for "oral formulas" in medieval epics, and a concomitant glut of articles on "oral formulaic theory".⁹⁶

Literary historians have also become sensitive to the information to be culled from the manuscripts in which medieval literature survives. Back in 1941-1942, Henry John Chaytor realized that medieval scribes had relied on "auditory memory" rather than modern "visual memory", and concluded that "the difference between auditory and visual memory can be made a basis for emendation".⁹⁷ The influence of orality and on reading and on manuscript lay-out became ever more important outside palaeographical circles.

Historians among medievalists started to produce surveys of the development of communication and literacy after the Second World War. Heinrich Fichtenau's *Mensch und Schrift im Mittelalter* was published in 1946.⁹⁸ Its immediate influence in the German speaking world seems to have been limited; only after the reception of Anglo-Saxon ideas about literacy was its subject matter to arouse enduring interest. Similarly, the works of Rörig⁹⁹ and Grundmann¹⁰⁰ were to be

⁹³ No. 1253 (CHADWICK and CHADWICK, 1932-1940).

⁹⁴ M. PARRY, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928). Parry's work was reprinted in 1971, when medievalists, too, had begun to be sensitized to the subject of medieval communication (*The Making of Homeric Verse. The Collected Writings of Milman Parry*, ed. A. PARRY (Oxford, 1971)).

⁹⁵ No. 1355.

⁹⁶ See No. 1331.

⁹⁷ No. 948 (CHAYTOR, 1941-1942), p. 56.

⁹⁸ No. 191 (FICHTEAU, 1946).

⁹⁹ No. 207 (RÖRIG, 1953).

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g. the comments on No. 192 (GRUNDMANN, 1958) in No. 39 (DE JONG, 1993) and No.

subjected to criticism only after the 1960s. In England, too, Henry John Chaytor's *From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature*, published in 1945,¹⁰¹ was to exert its main influence only after a generation.

The intensification of historical research on communication in the Middle Ages occurred after the 1960s. At first, attention concentrated on the relationship between oral and written communication. Scholars saw themselves living in a period of revolutionary technological change which brought about considerable changes in personal and social life. This made them acutely aware of the changes which the introduction of the printing press in the fifteenth and sixteenth century had caused. Research became sensitive to the influence of the channel by which messages were transmitted. And more than before questions were asked about the socio-economic position of the producers of written texts.¹⁰² Simultaneously, in linguistics the idea became current that not only spoken language, but also other symbolic systems had a syntax, lexicon and semantics of their own: written language was no longer seen as a description of spoken language, but as a distinct system with its own rules and references. The various media began to be compared (going backwards from the electronic word via the written and spoken word to non-verbal communication) and their differences rather than their similarities were stressed.

We have already had occasion to mention the publication of Jack Goody and Ian Watt's article "The Consequences of Literacy" and the "technologist" trend it started.¹⁰³ The first medieval historians who, after Goody and Watt, occupied themselves with the problem of medieval communication, seemed convinced of their being right. This was understandable: had medieval history not, over the last centuries, via palaeography, codicology, diplomatics and other "decoding sciences" occupied itself with the technicalities of written communication? One observed for instance that, as the Middle Ages progress, writing is introduced in ever more social spheres. One began to wonder under which circumstances the introduction of writing took place. One wanted to know when exactly written communication had supplanted the spoken word as the most valued form of communication. There were sources enough for this kind of enquiry: the whole of the surviving written texts was at the disposal of the researcher. It was possible to compare the production of written texts (including the production of copies of written texts) in different centuries, or in different geographical areas. When historians also devel-

294 (CLANCY, 1993), first edn. (1979), pp. 177-181.

¹⁰¹ No. 279 (CHAYTOR, 1945).

¹⁰² See the synthesis in No. 210.

¹⁰³ See *supra*, p. 000.

oped an interest in the spoken word, they could go on to ask how this gigantic production of written texts reflected the spoken word. However, the early efforts by pioneering medieval historians concentrated on written culture, and (involuntarily or not) there was the suggestion that one communicated *either* orally *or* by means of writing. That there were societies in medieval Europe which got by without any recourse to writing at all was a problem which for the moment was all but disregarded.

With hindsight, discussion of the theses of Goody and Ong, among medievalists as among social scientists, was often muddled by the fact that the participants talked about different things. Some of them talked about the techniques of oral and written communication, without considering their possible implications for other aspects of medieval culture. Others believed that changes in communication technology had a certain limited influence on psychological and social structures. Others again saw "oral" and "literate" as words summarizing two all-encompassing cosmologies. Recently, discussions are slightly more dispassionate, but they may still flare up occasionally.

Historical research on medieval literacy has gradually worked backwards from the printing press through the definitive "take-off" of "pragmatic literacy" in the eleventh and twelfth century to Carolingian Europe and even further back. It is clear from the bibliography that no area in Europe escaped the historians' attention. It is also clear that the attention is not evenly spread over regions and topics. Germany, England and Ireland have been studied relatively well, whereas there are few studies on France, Italy and the Iberian peninsula. Central and Eastern Europe, too, benefit from few studies.¹⁰⁴ For the early medieval period, we have the publications inspired by Rosamond McKitterick's investigations of Carolingian literacy. In her *The Carolingians and the Written Word* of 1989¹⁰⁵ she evaluated the uses of literacy by concentrating on the surviving written texts. This book was followed in 1990 by her edition of a collection of essays, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*,¹⁰⁶ in which the question of the relative importance of written and non-written communication plays a significantly greater part. This change of emphasis reflects developments in other disciplines. It had always been clear that the spoken word continued to play an important role also after the introduction of writing. The problem of the relationship between speech and writing gradually developed from an "either/or"-question into a "more/less"-question.

¹⁰⁴ See the contribution of Anna Adamska to this volume (No. 330).

¹⁰⁵ No. 224 (McKITTERICK, 1989).

¹⁰⁶ No. 231 (ed. McKITTERICK, 1990).

One of the first questions addressed by historians was that of the literacy of groups outside the literate elites (which at first were considered to consist of clergymen only). Were the English medieval kings literate? V.H. Galbraith asked himself in 1935.¹⁰⁷ Did women participate in literacy? Herbert Grundmann asked a year later.¹⁰⁸ Were there monks who did not know how to read and write? Alfred Wendehorst wanted to know in 1963.¹⁰⁹ When the obvious truth sunk in that not all medieval clerics were scholars, the literacy of regular and secular clergy was investigated.¹¹⁰ All social groups have been dealt with, including the illiterate peasants: in 1984, Aron Gurevich devoted attention to the "peasant visions" of twelfth- and thirteenth-century oral and written culture as he deduced them from learned Latin texts.¹¹¹

Surprisingly, the use of writing in government, management and trade was addressed relatively late as a topic of research in its own right. Probably this has to do with the fact that general surveys of medieval literacy tend to privilege these uses of the written word. Diplomatics, legal and institutional history had always studied the use of documents. In 1971 Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand drew attention to the relationship between the spoken word and legal symbols in "German" Carolingian poetry.¹¹² But there are few studies until the appearance of Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* in 1979.¹¹³ This work, which by no means deals only with government and administration, may be said to have been an inspiration for the German preoccupation with "pragmatische Schriftlichkeit". Recently, the specialists of charters and documents have begun to realize the importance of rephrasing their research questionnaire in the terms of medieval communication and literacy. In 1997, for instance, Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle and Michel Parisse devoted an issue of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* to the uses of documents in the eleventh century,¹¹⁴ in which recent research on orality and literacy has been taken into account.¹¹⁵ Another very promising recent development is the shift in attention from juridical texts to the settlement of disputes. *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*,

¹⁰⁷ No. 1092 (GALBRAITH, 1935).

¹⁰⁸ No. 1108 (GRUNDMANN, 1936).

¹⁰⁹ No. 1086 (WENDEHORST, 1963).

¹¹⁰ See Nos. 1058-1088.

¹¹¹ No. 1101 (GUREVICH, 1984).

¹¹² No. 1159 (SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, 1971).

¹¹³ No. 294 (CLANCHY, 1993; 1st edn. 1979).

¹¹⁴ No. 1139 (ed. GUYOTJEANNIN, MORELLE and PARISSÉ, 1997).

¹¹⁵ E.g. in the contribution of O. GUYOTJEANNIN, " 'Penuria scriptorum': Le mythe de l'anarchie documentaire dans la France du Nord (X^e-première moitié du XI^e siècle", pp. 11-44 at pp. 13-14.

edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre in 1986,¹¹⁶ stresses the function of documents among those of other forms of communication. Thus, the relative importance of the written word in medieval judicial practice can be ascertained.¹¹⁷

Ritual and its juxtaposition of non-verbal, oral and written forms of communication seems the most recent addition to the study of medieval communication. As in dispute settlement, so in other "public" rituals the role of the written word can be shown to have been less important than earlier concentration on the extant written sources seemed to suggest.¹¹⁸ Consultation, demonstration and stage setting of emotions show, according to Gerd Althoff's recent analysis, to have been more important than writing in the medieval political game¹¹⁹ Similarly, the participation of the aristocracy in the medieval liturgy, studied in 1995 by Horst Wenzel, shows the written word to have been only one form among many to represent the drama of Christianity.¹²⁰ Not only written texts, visual images, too, have to be replaced in the context in which they were seen in order to be fully understood.¹²¹

We have concentrated this short review on the first publications dealing with specific aspects of medieval communication. As a consequence, certain titles of major importance have not been mentioned. They can, however, easily be traced in the bibliography. The aim has merely been to show when certain questions were first put, in order to find out when certain approaches to medieval communication are first expressly attested.

Conclusion

A first conclusion from this rapid survey imposes itself: research is centred ever more on the question of the relative importance of writing, seen as part of the whole of medieval forms of communication. This change of perspective constitutes a clear challenge for future research, and suggests a first approach to the subject.

The earlier surveys of the uses of writing insisted on the preserved sources. Almost all sources, verbal as well as non-verbal, have been used for the study of

¹¹⁶ No. 1206 (ed. DAVIES and FOURACRE, 1986).

¹¹⁷ Cf. the contribution of Karl Heidecker to this volume (No. 1197).

¹¹⁸ See the contribution of Mariëlle Hageman to this volume (No. 487).

¹¹⁹ Nos. 476-479 (ALTHOFF, 1990, 1993, 1996 and 1997).

¹²⁰ No. 631 (WENZEL, 1995), pp. 95-127.

¹²¹ M. MOSTERT, "Qu'est-ce qu'une image? En guise de conclusion", in: *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales: Pour une histoire comparée*, ed. J.-M. SANSTERRE and J.-Cl. SCHMITT (Brussels and Rome, 1999: *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome* 69), pp. 265-271, at p. 267.

communication: objects, such as archaeological remains, town plans, monuments, works of art, books and documents, and iconographical and verbal "texts". Any object which has come down to us from the Middle Ages may inform us as to aspects of medieval acts of communication, and not only those sources may be put to use which were explicitly meant by their authors (or makers) to convey information to contemporaries or to posterity.

Images were clearly meant to convey a message, and used a visual vocabulary, grammar and semantics which are just as difficult to interpret as those of verbal messages. The continued study of their messages provides another promising approach.

Written texts form the privileged sources for the student of medieval communication, not only because of their intrinsic interest as depositories of the written word, but also because other forms of communication may be translated into writing (oral discourse, but also the symbolic systems of music and mathematics), or at least be described in written texts. Without written texts the symbolic meaning of objects, including visual images, would remain obscure or simply unknown. The study of descriptions of non-verbal and oral communication is a third major approach to medieval communication.

Medieval written texts may also tell us something through the study of the copies in which they survive. Written texts may be copied, read, commented upon and translated in other times and places, and by others than those for whom they were originally intended. The message of the author may be changed, consciously or unconsciously, by ulterior readers. Written texts have to be studied not only for what their authors intended their message to be, but also for what others made of that original message. Copies may be as interesting for the study of medieval communication as original texts as they survive in autographs or apographs, or as they have been painfully reconstructed by philologists. The study of the transmission of written texts constitutes a fourth approach to medieval communication.¹²²

Furthermore, the study of the organization of the texts as it is apparent in their subdivisions and in the lay-out of the manuscript page may suggest psychological changes over the medieval centuries.¹²³ Apparently minor changes in punctuation or even word spacing may be signs of more important changes.¹²⁴ This suggests a fifth approach.

Are these five approaches new? After the foregoing discussion of the publications on medieval communication the answer must be cautious. What seems cer-

¹²² See forthcoming studies by Mary Garrison and Karl Heidecker.

¹²³ See No. 972 (ed. MOSTERT, 1999).

¹²⁴ See Nos. 976 (PARKES, 1992 and SAENGER, 986).

tain is, that taken together they will prove of more than average interest for future research.

The Audience of Early Medieval Hagiographical Texts: Some Questions Revisited

WOLFERT S. VAN EGMOND

An impressive number of hagiographical texts has survived from the early Middle Ages. These texts have proven to be rich sources for the study of a wide range of subjects.¹ They are considered to have served purposes which allow us to look through them into the heart of early medieval societies. However, there are still some important unresolved problems concerning their contemporary reception. Two related questions are central to these problems: which groups of people were intended as the audience of the stories in these texts, and how were these people reached? Even though much research has been done on this subject over the years, these matters have been only partly clarified.²

¹ For an overview of recent trends in the study of hagiography see: Julia M.H. SMITH, "Review article: early medieval hagiography in the late twentieth century", *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1992), pp. 69-76.

² Baudouin DE GAIFFIER, "L'hagiographie et son public au X^e siècle", in: ID., *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels, 1967: *Subsidia Hagiographica* 43), pp. 475-507 (earlier published in: *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen* (Brussels and Paris, 1947), pp. 136-166). ID., "La lecture des actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident. A propos du passionnaire Hispanique", *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), pp. 134-166. ID., "La lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome avant le IX^e siècle", *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969), pp. 63-78. Guy PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout, 1977: *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 24-25), pp. 112-121. ID., *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques. Mise à jour* (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 25-28. Martin HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout,

In order to investigate the role of writing within a general spectrum of early medieval communication, my present research is concentrated on hagiographical texts written in the dioceses of Auxerre, Utrecht and Würzburg.³ To gain some insight into the meaning and value of the stories contained in these texts, it is of course necessary to consider their audiences and uses, or, put differently, to consider to whom and in what manner the contents of hagiographical texts were communicated. This article is a provisional attempt to consider hagiographical writing from this point of view.

How Was Hagiographical Knowledge Disseminated?

Reflecting on the question how hagiographical texts may have been used, it seems that three ways can be distinguished in which somebody in the early Middle Ages could become familiar with their contents.⁴ The first possibility was the private reading of a hagiographical text. Next, texts could have been heard while they were read aloud by someone else. This might have happened in a church or a monastery, but we should not exclude places like royal palaces or village squares. Finally, a person might have heard the contents of a

1979: *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 33), pp. 109-120. ID., "Une source de base de la littérature hagiographique latine: le recueil de miracles", in: *Hagiographie, cultures et société (IV^e-XII^e siècles). Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 235-259, esp. pp. 244-248. Marc VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie et son public à l'époque mérovingienne", in: *Studia Patristica XVI. Papers presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1975*, ed. Elizabeth A. LIVINGSTONE, part 2 (Berlin, 1985), pp. 54-62. Katrien HEENE, "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography. Continuity or change in public and aims?", *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), pp. 415-428. ID., "Audire, legere, vulgo: an attempt to define public use and comprehensibility of Carolingian hagiography", in: *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Roger WRIGHT (London, 1991), pp. 146-163. Dieter VON DER NAHMER, *Die Lateinische Heiligenvita. Eine Einführung in die lateinische Hagiographie* (Darmstadt, 1994), pp. 170-178. Hedwig RÖCKELEIN, "Zur Pragmatik hagiographischer Schriften im Frühmittelalter", in: *Bene vivere in communitate. Beiträge zum italienischen und deutschen Mittelalter Hagen Keller zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von seinen Schülerinnen und Schüler*, ed. Thomas SCHARFF and Thomas BEHRMANN (Münster, 1997), pp. 225-238.

³ These dioceses have been selected in order to examine whether differences can be found in the attitude towards writing between areas of the Carolingian empire which had previously been romanized (Auxerre) and regions which had been on the border of the Roman empire (Utrecht) or outside it (Würzburg).

⁴ For discussions of the different (especially monastic) places where hagiographical manuscripts may have been read, see: DE GAFFIER, "L'hagiographie et son public", pp. 475-499, PHILIPPART, *Légendiers latins*, pp. 112-117, and ID., *Mise à jour*, pp. 25-28.

hagiographical text being recounted by somebody who had previously read or heard it. This last way of becoming acquainted with hagiographical information is the most difficult to study. As we are primarily interested in the intended reception of hagiographical texts, here we shall merely consider the possibility that a hagiographical text was read by someone with the purpose of afterwards communicating its contents orally. Such a practice seems especially fitting for the kind of preaching in which a written text was not itself read aloud, but served as an aid or inspiration for oral discourse.

Is it possible to find passages in the sources from the early Middle Ages indicating that these three ways were indeed practised? The standard example for the first two possibilities is provided by Alcuin in his *Vita Willibrordi*. In the prologue he informs bishop Beornrad of Sens (also abbot of Echternach) that he has obeyed his request to write about the life and miracles of saint Willibrord, and has produced two books,

one proceeding in prosaic speech, which can be read out aloud to the brethren in church, if this seems suitable to your wisdom; the other one striding with poetic feet, which should only be ruminated upon by your scholars (*scholasticos*) in the solitude of the cell. ... To the first book I have also added a homily, which hopefully may be worthy to be preached to the people by your venerable mouth.⁵

Alcuin mentions three possible uses of his texts, two of which seem to correspond to possibilities that we distinguished above, i.e. reading aloud and private reading. Yet it is unclear what kind of private reading Alcuin intends. On the one hand he could envisage private reading by a single person in his own cell, on the other hand he could imagine occasions at which the inner intellectual circle of a clerical community gathered in the private room of its abbot or bishop for intensive, collective study.⁶ It is not clear exactly how Alcuin imagined the homily he had written to be delivered to the people. Was it to be

⁵ Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis* (BHL Nos. 8935-8939), ed. Wilhelm LEVISON in: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici* 5, ed. Bruno KRUSCH and Wilhelm LEVISON (Hannover and Leipzig, 1919-1920: MGH SRM 7), pp. 113-141, prologue, pp. 113-114: "... unum prosaico sermone gradientem, qui puplice fratribus in ecclesia, si dignum tuae videatur sapientiae, legi potuisset; alterum Piereo pede currentem, qui in secreto cubili inter scolasticos tuos tantummodo ruminare debuisset. ... Unam quoque priori libello superaddidi omeliam, quae utinam digna esset tuo venerando ore populo praedicari". The verse *vita* has been edited among: *Alcuini (Albini) carmina*, in: *Poetae latinae aevi Carolini* 1, ed. Ernst DÜMMER (Berlin, 1881: MGH PP 1), pp. 160-351.

⁶ Mayke DE JONG, "From scholastici to scioli: Alcuin and the formation of an intellectual élite", in: *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, ed. L.A.J.R. HOUWEN and A.A. McDONALD (Groningen, 1998: *Germania Latina* 3), pp. 45-57, esp. pp. 47-49.

read out, or was it to be declaimed by a preacher who had read and memorized it? Here we touch upon a problem that is common to the study of most homilies and sermons that have come to us from the Middle Ages: the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of determining the relationship between the text of a sermon as it has been written down and the version that once may have been spoken before or after the text was fixed in writing.⁷ We shall return to this problem below.

Alcuin not only distinguished three different uses of his texts, he also spoke of three different audiences. Is it possible to say more about the different audiences that could have been reached through the various possible uses of hagiographical texts? Two separate approaches may bring us closer to an answer.

First, we can consider what knowledge was required for people to become acquainted with the contents of hagiographical texts, and who in the early Middle Ages met these requirements. Looking at the three options distinguished above, it is clear that private reading was the most demanding. One had to be able to read in order to be able to study a written text privately. And since almost all texts during the early Middle Ages were written in Latin, people needed to understand Latin to be able to grasp the meaning of a text even when it was read out to them. Hence the central question that has to be answered is one which has occupied scholars for a long time: who understood Latin? The answer is not as simple as has sometimes been thought, especially not regarding the area where the Romance languages came to be spoken. Elsewhere, one may assume, Latin texts always had to be translated if they were to be understood by those without Latin training. A lively debate is still going on about the relationship between Latin and the Romance vernaculars.⁸ This discussion has implications for the question of the possible audience of Latin hagiography. Possibly a Latin text served as a basis for an oral delivery either in Latin or in the vernacular, with only a knowledge of spoken Latin being required on the part of

⁷ Jean LONGÈRE, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983), pp. 155-164.

⁸ Marc VAN UYTFANGHE, "Le latin des hagiographes mérovingiens et la protohistoire du français. État de la question", *Romanica Gandensia* 16 (1976), pp. 5-89. Jacques FONTAINE, "De la pluralité à l'unité dans le 'latin carolingien'?", in: *Nascità dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare* (Spoleto, 1981: *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 27), pp. 765-818. Roger WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982). Michael RICHTER, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler Latin en Gaule? A propos d'une question mal posée", *Annales ESC* 38 (1983), pp. 439-448, reprinted in: ID., *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 109-119. *Latin and the Romance Languages*. Michel BANNIARD, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en Occident latin* (Paris, 1992).

the audience. Naturally, in the sources at our disposal this type of reception is the hardest to grasp.

Another approach is to see what the hagiographical texts themselves tell us about their intended audiences. Over the years important research has been done on this subject.⁹ We have a reasonably accurate picture of the different ways in which hagiography was used in a monastic environment. From analysis of the prologues of hagiographical texts it has become clear that in Carolingian times a relatively small, mostly clerical audience was envisaged, while under the Merovingians the laity had also been intended as an audience.¹⁰ The reasons for this change are far from clear. However, on the basis of the prologues we cannot exclude that other people than those mentioned were reached as well.

In both approaches it is very difficult to distinguish between the possibility of a text being read out aloud and that of an oral discourse based upon the same text. Later on in this article we shall see whether we can say anything about preaching in general in the early Middle Ages, and consider whether that information has any significance for our understanding of the use of hagiographical texts.

The Debate on Latin and Romance

The study of the relationship between Latin and the Romance languages has a long history. Since the Romance languages evolved out of Latin, research has tended to focus on this evolution itself and on the period when the Romance languages had become definitely different from Latin. No consensus on this subject has yet been achieved; roughly speaking it is possible to discern three distinct schools of thought.¹¹ According to a first group of scholars, the Romance languages had already become separated from Latin around 500 AD, at the time when the Roman empire had ceased to exist in the West. A second group is of the opinion that the separation was accomplished (at least in Gaul) in the eighth century. A final group argues for a decisive separation (again in Gaul) only in the ninth and tenth centuries. The debate on this topic was greatly enlivened in the early eighties by the publication of Roger Wright's book, *Late*

⁹ See note 2.

¹⁰ VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie et son public". HEENE, "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography". ID., "*Audire, legere, vulgo*".

¹¹ A detailed summary of the views of these "schools" is given by: VAN UYTFANGHE, "Latin des hagiographes mérovingiens", pp. 23-83. A short update can be found in: BANNIARD, *Viva voce*, pp. 17-23.

Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France, which strongly argues in favour of a late separation of Latin and Romance.

We will not be able to provide any new arguments. However, a few remarks are necessary to illustrate the prevailing uncertainty. In the past, much attention has been devoted to the classic question when Latin ceased to be spoken as a mother tongue.¹² For our purposes an answer to the reformulated question, that is when Latin ceased to be understood, is far more important.¹³ The answer to this question is important for assessing the possibilities available for reading written texts to an unlearned, even illiterate audience. Once Latin was no longer readily understood, it became necessary to make translations of written hagiographical texts. As a result, the possibilities for disseminating the contents of these texts would have been limited.¹⁴

More recently some have maintained that in a way Latin never ceased to be spoken. It simply evolved and was then given other names, such as French or Italian.¹⁵ This point of view may be too naive when taken literally, but it does draw attention to the fact that the language of our texts, which we call Latin, became ever more restricted to writing, while at the same time becoming a less and less perfect match for the language of everyday speech. In the written language the traditional rules for vocabulary, grammar and orthography were followed, while the spoken language evolved into the different Romance languages.¹⁶

Because people who learned to read and write were taught the traditional rules, they were less aware of the growing gap between spoken and written language. Hence a distinction has to be kept in mind between linguistic changes on the one hand and contemporary awareness of those shifts, together with changing opinions about them, on the other. These latter changes have been termed metalinguistic changes.¹⁷

¹² Put this way by Ferdinand LOT, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 6 (1931), pp. 97-159. Later restated by: Dag NORBERG, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule?", *Annales ESC* 21 (1966), pp. 346-356.

¹³ RICHTER, "A quelle époque".

¹⁴ Rosamond MCKITTERICK, "Latin and Romance: an historian's perspective", in: *Latin and the Romance Languages*, pp. 130-145, at pp. 130-131. BANNIARD, *Viva voce*, is an excellent example of a study which treats communication in relation to questions about the relationship between Latin and Romance.

¹⁵ RICHTER, "A quelle époque", p. 439.

¹⁶ WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. X-XI.

¹⁷ See for considerations of this distinction Paul M. LLOYD, "On the names of languages (and other things)", in: *Latin and the Romance Languages*, pp. 9-18; Tore JANSON, "Language change and metalinguistic change: Latin to Romance and other cases", *ibid.*, pp. 19-28; József

With these considerations in mind, is it possible to determine when Latin, read aloud, finally ceased to be understood by an uneducated audience? We can only reach vague indications of when this occurred. It is undeniable that a number of the linguistic changes which were to lead to the development of the distinct Romance languages had already taken place in Antiquity. Some early Christian authors were conscious of problems in communicating the Christian message to uneducated people, problems which were not merely of a stylistic nature. Nevertheless, well into the sixth century and possibly beyond the basic unity of the spoken and written forms of the language was not broken, and it was therefore possible to read out texts to uneducated people and be sure that they understood them.¹⁸

From around 600 AD the evidence of the sources becomes ambiguous. Norberg proposed to distinguish a period from around 600 AD to around 800 AD in which the spoken language evolved from Latin into Romance, so that the gap between the spoken and the written language became unbridgeable.¹⁹ As we have seen, however, there is also a group of scholars who think that, in Gaul at least, this transition started in earnest only around 800 AD. They argue that this development was not complete even by the tenth century.²⁰ Wright has called attention to the changes brought about by the Carolingian reforms. The Carolingian reformers, and especially Alcuin, who was himself a native speaker of Old English, cut the organic connections between the written and the spoken forms of language by imposing a new way of pronouncing written words. Every written letter was given to represent one distinctive sound. This new manner of pronouncing Latin replaced the traditional way, in which some letters might be voiced in several ways rather than being restricted to representing one distinc-

HERMAN, "Spoken and written Latin in the last centuries of the Roman Empire. A contribution to the linguistic history of the western provinces", *ibid.*, pp. 29-43, at p. 30; Roger WRIGHT, "The conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance: invention or evolution?", *ibid.*, pp. 103-113; Marc VAN UYTFANGHE, "The consciousness of a linguistic dichotomy (Latin-Romance) in Carolingian Gaul: The contradictions of the sources and of their interpretation", *ibid.*, pp. 114-129.

¹⁸ VAN UYTFANGHE, "Latin des hagiographes mérovingiens", p. 79. WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, *passim*. HERMAN, "Spoken and written Latin", pp. 41-42. BANNIARD, *Viva voce*, pp. 487-488.

¹⁹ NORBERG, "A quelle époque?"

²⁰ For a summary of the work of "older" adherents of this idea, see VAN UYTFANGHE, "Latin des hagiographes mérovingiens", pp. 23-31. In recent years this idea has been forcibly expressed by WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 261-262 (a schematic summary of his conclusions). See also RICHTER, "A quelle époque", p. 445. BANNIARD, *Viva voce*, pp. 485-490, points at difficulties arising before 750, but he also sees the final break occurring after that time.

tive sound only.²¹ Thus, in Wright's view a text that was read out in the new manner would have become incomprehensible to an uneducated audience, even if that same audience would have understood the text if it had been read out according to the traditional rules of pronunciation. In the beginning, this new pronunciation would only have been used for the "ritual" parts of the liturgy. Other parts of the liturgy, demanding comprehension of the message of the text, as e.g. the sermon, would have been voiced in the traditional pronunciation.²² With time, the new pronunciation led to experiments with spelling in order to put into writing the traditional, colloquial pronunciation. But for the moment there were, according to Wright's thesis, merely two different ways of writing the same language and, partly independent from that, two different ways of pronouncing the one Latin language. Only after several centuries did this situation lead to separate languages, Romance and medieval Latin. In Gaul this situation would have been reached around the year 1000, in Spain only in the thirteenth century.²³

As a result of this theory, the discussion of the relationship between Latin and Romance is very much alive, but general agreement on the issues is still far away. If according to some philologists the period around 800 merely brought to the surface linguistic changes that had already occurred centuries earlier, while others are of the opinion that around 800 the decisive changes only started,²⁴ where does that leave the non-specialist? The historian who wonders whether or not the texts he or she uses as sources could be understood by uneducated people is left with a period of at least four centuries of uncertainty! Nevertheless the philologists' debates hold important lessons for historians. They make at least clear that we should not dismiss out of hand the possibility that uneducated people might understand Latin. In combination with the recent arguments in favour of a higher level of literacy in early medieval society than had been thought possible before,²⁵ historians now have to reckon with a larger audience for the texts in the language in which they survive. In other words, Latin may have been understood by more than merely a small group of edu-

²¹ WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 104-116.

²² WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 118-122.

²³ WRIGHT, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, pp. 122-144 and 261-262.

²⁴ A variety of opinions is shown in the different contributions to *Latin and the Romance Languages*.

²⁵ Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989). For an opposite view: Michael RICHTER, "... *Quisquis scit scribere, nullum potat abere labore*. Zur Laienschriftlichkeit im 8. Jahrhundert", in: *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. Jörg JARNUT, Ulrich NONN and Michael RICHTER (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 393-404, and ID., *The Formation of the Medieval West. Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians* (Dublin, 1994).

cated clerics. Obviously an assessment of the understanding of Latin must still take into account differences in region, period, and social group. But we should be open to the possibilities offered by Wright's model.

The philologists' debate about Latin and Romance has significant implications for our question, but no clear answer. Let us now turn to the hagiographical traditions themselves in order to see what kind of information they offer.

Hagiographical Traditions

Much work has been done on the uses of hagiographical texts in the early Middle Ages. Research has focussed on the various uses of hagiographical texts in and around monasteries; much less attention has been paid to their use in other contexts. Baudouin de Gaiffier has shown how these texts were used in a liturgical setting, and has made clear that this practice started at different times in different regions.²⁶ While for Africa there is evidence that hagiographical texts were used in Mass as early as the fourth century, in Gaul the first signs of this development date from the sixth century, and in Rome their liturgical use seems to have become customary only around 800. It seems that the custom disappeared relatively early, for evidence of hagiographical reading during Mass becomes very rare after the eighth century. There were however liturgical occasions requiring hagiography other than Mass, especially in the context of monastic liturgy. The reading of hagiographical texts during the monastic offices is well attested, also after the eighth century.²⁷ There are many examples which show that in the monastery the texts were read on other occasions, such

²⁶ DE GAIFFIER, "Lecture des actes des martyrs en occident", and ID., "Lecture des passions des martyrs à Rome". See also HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte*, pp. 111-112.

²⁷ PHILIPPART, *Légendiers latins*, pp. 113-115.

as in the refectory,²⁸ or in the training of the young members of the community.²⁹

Even hagiography written within a monastic context could have reached a non-monastic audience. This is clearly indicated by Alcuin's prologue to his *Vita Willibrordi*, where he states that the homily added to the prose *vita* was intended for preaching to the people.³⁰ An obvious occasion for such discourse would have been the saint's feastday, when groups of pilgrims visited the monastery. In non-monastic churches which owned relics of important saints, the same practice must have been observed.³¹

Are there clues to the intended audience in the hagiographical texts themselves? They sometimes occur in the statements of the authors about the public they had in mind. Such a statement, if made at all, is usually found (as in the case of Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*) in the prologue.³² However, such passages hardly answer all our questions. It is possible that in his prologue the author had in mind a very specific public, for example one community or even one family,³³ ignoring any other intended audience. One may also find the mere

²⁸ The author of the *Vita altera Bonifatii*, e.g. tells how he read out his text to his brethren: *Vita altera Bonifatii auctore Radbodo qui dicitur episcopo Traiectensi* (BHL No. 1401), c. 18, ed. Wilhelm LEVISON, in: *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini* (Hannover, 1905: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usu scholarum separatim editi 57), pp. 62-78 at p. 74. Cf. M. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* (The Hague, 1981: Bibliografische reeks van het Nederlands Historisch Genootschap 2), No. 18; ID., "Le diocèse d'Utrecht, 900-1200", in: *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy PHILIPPART, 2 (Turnhout, 1996: CCSL s.n.), pp. 373-411, at pp. 385-386; Th. KLUPPEL, "Die Germania (750-950)", in: *Hagiographies*, 2, pp. 373-411, at p. 367. In a homily on saint Lebuinus bishop Radbod implies that the text may be read aloud during meals: *Homilia sancti Radbodi de sancto Lebwino* (BHL No. 4811), ed. in: PL 132 (Paris, 1853), col.553-558, at col.553. Cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 53; ID., "Le diocèse d'Utrecht", p. 384.

²⁹ Julia SMITH, "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand", *Studi Medievali* 35 (1994), pp. 517-542, at pp. 525-526.

³⁰ Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, prologue, p. 114: "Unam quoque priori libello superaddidi omeliam, quae utinam digna esset tuo venerando ore populo praedicari".

³¹ HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte*, pp. 111-112. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie et son public", pp. 59-60.

³² DE GAJHIER, "L'hagiographie et son public", pp. 501-502. HELNE, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography", p. 419.

³³ An example of a text that may have been written to reconcile two families is: *Passio Praejecti Episcopi et Martyris Arverni* (BHL Nos. 6915-6917), ed. Bruno KRUSCH, in: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici* 3, ed. Bruno KRUSCH and Wilhelm LEVISON (Hannover, 1910: MGH SRM 5), pp. 225-248. Cf. Paul FOURACRE and Richard A. GERBERDING, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester and New York, 1996), pp. 254-270.

statement that the text was intended for "the faithful", which is too vague for our purposes. Furthermore the authors hardly ever specify how the text was expected to reach the intended public, and as a result it is unclear whether a given text was meant to be read out or to serve as an inspiration for preaching. This is true even when we exclude private reading as a form of reception because the prologue explicitly points at an unlearned audience.

Despite these reservations, the authors still give us some useful information about the public they intended to reach. Their prefaces seem to indicate significant changes towards the end of the eighth century. Marc Van Uytenghe and Katrien Heene³⁴ have shown that, whereas in the Merovingian age hagiographers wrote (some of) their texts also for a lay audience, Carolingian authors hardly ever mention a non-clerical public, or only in very general terms. Furthermore, in Carolingian hagiography we find a preference for references to reading (such as *legere* and *lector*) over terms alluding to hearing (such as *audire* and *auditor*). A text that speaks of reading may still have been read out, but the increase in the use of *legere* and *lector* suggests that an audience familiar with reading skills is intended. Furthermore, when terms designating listeners are used, the context often makes clear that a clerical public is envisaged, a group where a certain acquaintance with reading may safely be expected.³⁵

As an example of an hagiographical text from the earlier period which was explicitly intended for laymen, we may consider the *Vita Amatoris*, written around 600 by a certain priest Stephanus.³⁶ In the letter of commission from bishop Aunarius of Auxerre (573-603) which, together with Stephanus's answer, serves as a preface to the *vita*, laymen are explicitly mentioned as the text's public:³⁷

It is known to you, beloved brother, how great the variation is of human minds and how much not only the witless people (*inane vulgus*) but even the whole of the nobility is torn asunder by opposite passions. And you know how some are pleased with prosaic style, while others state that they are amused by rhythmic verses or songs of verses. Therefore, in

³⁴ VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie et son public". HEENE, "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography". ID., "*Audire, legere, vulgo*". A useful summary is given in: Hedwig ROCKELEIN, "Zur Pragmatik hagiographischer Schriften im Frühmittelalter".

³⁵ HEENE, "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography", pp. 421-422. ID., "*Audire, legere, vulgo*", p. 149.

³⁶ *Vita sancti Amatoris* (BHL No. 356), in: *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne ou collection de légendes, chroniques et documents divers*, ed. Louis Maximilien DURU, 2 vols. (Auxerre and Paris, 1850-1863), 1, pp. 135-158.

³⁷ These letters are edited separately from the *vita* by W. GUNDLACH, "Epistolae aevi Merovingici collectae", in: *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* ed. Wilhelm GUNDLACH, Ernst DÖMMLER a.o. (Berlin, 1892: *MGH Epp.* 3), Nos. 7-8, pp. 446-448.

order that I may be able to meet everybody's wishes and that nobody will be disappointed in his desire, it would please me if you would describe some lives of the holy confessors in a free foot and would arrange others constrained by metrical law; for this reason I beseech the full friendship of your love for me not to desist from changing the life of the most holy bishop Germanus into the quality of verse, and to describe the life of the holy Amator in prosaic modulation ...³⁸

Aunarius' playful opposition between the *inane vulgus* and the *nobilitas* has been connected with his succeeding remarks on the different preferences for either verse or prose; somewhat surprisingly, this has led to the conclusion that members of "the nobility" were connoisseurs of both these genres. There is no reason, however, to think that Aunarius designated his audience in such a precise manner. He merely observes that men in general have varying tastes, to introduce the disparate genres of prose and verse.³⁹ Unfortunately, he does not describe the context in which he expects his public to encounter these texts, but his allusion to melodies and rhythms in the case of verse might point to a performance going beyond simply reading aloud.

The context of reception is important. It gives an indication of the possible public of individual texts. If we consider hagiographical production as a whole, indications of context may also provide clues to the reasons for the changes taking place under the Carolingians. Two possibilities come to mind. The first is that because of linguistic changes the texts could no longer be read out to an unlearned audience in a way that was intelligible. If this were the case, then the change of the intended audience is an argument against the theory of a late separation of Latin and Romance. We shall come back to this later. Alternatively, the authors may have aimed at a different audience because of changes in the liturgy of Mass which no longer left a place for hagiographical readings

³⁸ *Vita Amatoris*, p. 135: "Cognitum tibi est, carissime frater, et quae sit humanarum mentium diversitas, et quemadmodum in studia contraria non solum inane vulgus, verum etiam universa scindatur nobilitas: et quidam quidem prosaico oblectantur stylo, quidam autem numeris se rhythmisve ac cantibus versuum delectari fatentur. Ergo, ut omnium votis occurrerem, et nullus suo desiderio frauderetur, placuit mihi, ut vitas beatissimorum confessorum quasdam pede libero describeres, quasdam vero lege metrica impeditas digereres; ob quam rem obsecro unitam mihi tuae dilectionis amicitiam, ut beatissimi Germani episcopi vitam in versuum qualitatem commutare non desistas: Sancti vero Amatoris prosaica modulatione describas ...". Apart from some variations in spelling, the edition of GUNDLACH, p. 447, differs from the edition of DURU by two words. GUNDLACH gives "describerem" and "digererem" instead of "describeres" and "digereres", which I consider a more logical reading. It is not known whether or not Stephanus actually wrote a verse version of the *Vita Germani*.

³⁹ Aunarius did not have in mind a public of only noblemen as stated by VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie et son public", p. 57, and VON DER NAHMER, *Die Lateinische Heiligenvita*, p. 174.

in that context. Possibly their disappearance from the Mass was caused by the growing use in Gaul of the Roman liturgy to the detriment of indigenous Gallian rites.⁴⁰ Whether this was indeed the reason remains unclear. However, most extant hagiographical texts were too long to be read out in full during one service. In the liturgy of the monastic hours this posed less of a problem, because one could divide the text into a number of lessons, and read it over several services.⁴¹ Outside the monastic liturgy this was a less likely solution, as there was no way to ensure that the faithful would return to hear the rest of the text.

Two well-known examples reveal that only parts of the texts were expected to be read during services. The prologue of the *Vita Eligii*, which in its surviving form probably dates from the middle of the eighth century, implies that for the feast of the saint a selection should be made:

Therefore, whenever we celebrate the annual festivities of the saints, we should recite (*recitare*) in praise of Christ something from their deeds which is suitable for the instruction of the Christian people, since whatever is praiseworthy in His saints is truly a gift of Christ.⁴²

More explicit is Hincmar of Reims (845-882) in his *Vita Remigii*. In his prologue he not only says that the text is meant both for reading to an audience during the festivities of the saint and also for private study by readers, but moreover that he has indicated in the text which passages are suitable for these different purposes. The passages meant to be read out to the people were marked with asterisks, while those for the educated reader had a paragraph sign at the beginning and an *antisimma* at the end:

As these headings [of the preceding table of contents] have indicated, in the following little work are inserted things from the holy Scriptures and the sayings of the Catholic [fathers] and also from histories fit to instruct and exhort the readers. In order that those things do not all come to be recited (*ad recitandum*) before an audience of the people, for whom it suf-

⁴⁰ DE GAIFFIER, "Lecture des actes des martyrs en occident", pp. 145-151. PHILIPPART, *Légendiers latins*, pp. 113-114. HEENE, "Audire, legere, vulgo", pp. 147-148. G. ROUWHORST, "De kracht van water. De wijding van het doopwater in de Romeinse liturgie van de late Oudheid tot aan het einde van de Middeleeuwen", in: *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom. Studies over ritueel en magie in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. DEMYTTENAERE (Hilversum, 1995: Amsterdamse Historische Reeks. Grote Serie 22), pp. 129-170, at pp. 131-137.

⁴¹ PHILIPPART, *Légendiers latins*, p. 119.

⁴² *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis* (BHL Nos. 2474-2476), prologue, ed. in: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, 2, ed. Bruno KRUSCH (Hannover, 1902: MGH SRM 4), p. 664: "Quotienscumque ergo sanctorum sollemnia anniversario curriculo caelebramus, aliqua ex eorum gestis ad aedificationem christianae plebis convenientia in Christi laudibus recitare debemus, quoniam re vera Christi muneris est, quicquid in sanctis eius laudabile est".

fices to be served with a measure of the word to capture the listeners, and at the same time in order that the parts in themselves selected for reading by scholars will not perish, just as once happened on the occasion I recalled in the preface to this work, I have taken care to make these things clear by way of established lessons to be read on two feasts, namely that of the deposition and that of the translation of this, our lord and patron—in order that for the feast of the deposition nine lessons be read concerning the matters from the beginning until his death, and in order that for the festivity of his translation six lessons be read from the things that were revealed after his death, and three from the homily on the lesson from the Gospel—with a subsidiary distinction by means of signs discovered by the ingenuity of the ancients, of that which may be read to the listening people listening, and of those parts which ought to be kept for reading by teachers and scholars, if it would be allowed to them and if they would fancy it. In such a way that those parts which are to be read to the people are marked by the sign called an asterisk *, not in order that those parts are shown which are to be left out, but so that like a star the beams enlighten the lesser learned people; before the parts which must be reserved for those enlightened by God's grace to read, a paragraph sign ¶ is placed to separate those things from the parts, which are met with in the context; an *antisimma* Ⓞ is put in where those passages are to end which the paragraph postsigned.⁴³

The *Vita Remigii* shows that in the middle of the ninth century a *vita* could still be meant for an unlearned audience. It also shows that the text was probably used in a liturgical setting, since Hincmar mentions the occasion of the saint's feasts. Yet it remains impossible to draw conclusions about the exact manner in which this text would have been communicated to an unlearned audience. Hincmar uses the word *recitare*, which, taken literally, might be seen

⁴³ *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis auctore Hincmaro* (BHL Nos. 7152-7164), prologue, ed. in: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH (Hannover, 1896: MGH SRM 3), pp. 258-259: "His miraculorum premissis capitulis, quedam sunt in sequenti opusculo de sanctis scripturis et catholicorum dictis sed et de hystoriis ad instructionem et exortationem legentium interposita. Que ut ad recitandum omnia in populi audientia non increscant, cui pro capto audientium mensuram verbi convenit ministrari, et excerpta per se alia lectioni studiosorum non depereant, sicut quondam contigisse hac occasione in prefatione huius operis commemoravi, per lectiones ad legenda in duabus festivitibus, scilicet depositionis et translationis huius domni et patronis nostri, determinatas,—ut in depositionis sollempnitate novem lectiones ab exordio usque ad obitum eius legantur, et in eius translationis festivitate sex lectiones de his que post obitum illius ostensa sunt et tres de omelia lectionis euangelice legantur,—subcivica distinctione notis antiquorum peritia inventis, quantum inde, populo audiente, legantur, et que instructionibus et studiosioribus, quando sibi licuerit vel libuerit, legenda serventur, designare curavi: eo videlicet modo, ut illa que populo recitanda sunt nota quae asteriscus vocatur *, non ut ea que omitta fuerant illucescant, sed ut quasi stelle radii minus scientes illuminent, prenotentur; eis vero quae per Dei gratiam illuminatis legenda reservari debent nota paragraphus ¶ preponatur ad separandas res a rebus, quae in conexione concurrent; antisimma vero Ⓞ subiungatur, ubi sunt finienda, quae paragraphus prenotavit". The signs referred to have been rendered in the edition by a capital Chi, with dots between the arms, a capital Gamma, and an inverted capital c. Cf. on these signs Malcolm B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992).

as a proof that at the time the people of Reims could still understand a Latin text when read out to them. But is that a valid conclusion? Heene has the impression that the differences between the marked passages only involve contents, not syntax or style.⁴⁴ Probably Hincmar first composed the whole of the text and only afterwards went through it to mark the different passages; in that case the distinction would have been merely an afterthought.⁴⁵

One may wonder whether this text is not the product of the scholar's study rather than a work grown out of pastoral experience. If so, it is questionable whether much weight can be given to the choice of the verb *recitare* for the description of how the text was to be transmitted to a listening audience. Did Hincmar really expect the people of Reims to understand the text when it was read out to them? Or was his choice of words that of a highly literate man, who momentarily forgot that "reciting" might not be the appropriate word to describe the manner in which his text would be delivered to his flock? The same observation might be made about the prologue of the *Vita Eligii*, which also uses *recitare*.

With this uncertainty we have arrived once more at the problem of the relationship between Latin and Romance. Hagiographical texts have been adduced in the debate on this topic, but did not provide decisive support for any of the competing theses. Most often the *Vita Willibrordi* in its different forms and the *Vita Richarii*,⁴⁶ written by Alcuin, have been cited. The prologues of these texts give some intriguing information, which is difficult to interpret.

In the *Vita Richarii* Alcuin expressed his astonishment that the monks of Saint Riquier thought they did not need a new text about the miracles of their patron:

To my utter surprise the aforementioned, memorable man Angilbert told me this, as did the spiritual brothers of that same holy place, that they had there, and at several churches, a rather large codex in which could be read the miracles on account of which the whole of Gaul exalted, not without reason, the holy confessor of Christ. The brethren agreed that this description sufficed them, since in their eyes its simple and unpolished speech (*locutio*) seemed more appropriate for reciting (*ad recitandum*) to the people.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ HEENE, "Audire, legere, vulgo", p. 150.

⁴⁵ With thanks to Karl Heidecker for pointing this out.

⁴⁶ *Vita Richarii confessoris Centulensis auctore Alcuino* (BHL Nos. 7223-7228), ed. in: *Passiones* ..., 2 (MGH SRM 4), pp. 389-401.

⁴⁷ *Vita Richarii*, prologue, p. 389: "Idque mihi stupescenti innotuit iam dictus memorabilis vir Angilbertus, ac spirituales fratres eiusdem sancti loci, haberi apud se, quin et apud diversas ecclesias, codicem alium grandioris quantitatis, in quo scilicet illa miracula legebantur, quibus non immerito sanctum Christi confessorem omnis Gallia attollebat. Cuius simplex et minus polita locutio quia fratribus ad recitandum in populo aptior videbatur, sufficere sibi eandem

Apparently the monks expected that a new text written by Alcuin would be too difficult to be used. But too difficult in what manner? Were they afraid that the new text could no longer be read out to the people in an understandable way, or that they themselves, while preaching, would have more problems translating the text into the vernacular because of its more elaborate style? In both cases the problem would apparently have been the style of the text rather than its language. Unless one takes *recitare* as a decisive proof that the text was read out rather than translated, the passage does not prove that a text in Latin could still be understood when it was read out.

Earlier we cited Alcuin's prologue to the *Vita Willibrordi* in which he states that he has written a prose *vita* which could be read out to the brethren in church and a *vita* in verse for intensive study.⁴⁸ Alcuin was not the first to write on one subject in both prose and verse. In England Aldhelm and Bede had done the same and bishop Aunarius of Auxerre asked the priest Stephanus to rework the *Vita Germani* in verse, so that the coexistence of *vitae* in prose and verse was not unknown in Gaul around 600 either.⁴⁹ In fact, the tradition stems from late antique rhetorical training, in which the paraphrasing of poetic texts in prose was considered an useful exercise. Before Alcuin the prose and verse versions of a *vita* were already seen as together constituting one single work; but he was the first to present them as a dyptych.⁵⁰ And he also added a homily which, he said, could be preached to lay people.

It is tempting to draw far-reaching conclusions from Alcuin's choice of words. He writes that the prose *vita* could be read out (*legi*), while the homily was to be preached (*praedicari*). We may assume that the preacher had some leeway to depart from the written text. But does this really point at a difference in communicating these texts? Or did Alcuin simply use *praedicari* as the obvious word in combination with *omelia*?⁵¹ These intriguing questions must remain unanswered.

Two things emerge from the evidence of the hagiographical traditions. The first is that, although the texts themselves do give some indication about their

descriptionem consenscrunt".

⁴⁸ See note 5.

⁴⁹ See note 38.

⁵⁰ Gernot WILAND, "Geminus stilus: studies in Anglo-Latin hagiography", in: *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. Michael HERREN (Toronto, 1981: *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 1), pp. 113-133; Peter GODMAN, "The Anglo-Latin *opus geminatum*: from Aldhelm to Alcuin", *Medium Aevum* 50 (1981), pp. 215-229. With thanks to Mary Garrison for these references.

⁵¹ For the meaning of the word *praedicare*, see: Christine MOHRMANN, "Praedicare-tractare-sermo", in: ID., *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, 2, *Latin chrétien et médiéval* (Rome, 1961), pp. 63-72, at pp. 63-70.

intended audience and the context in which this audience was to be reached, they give us hardly any concrete information about the performance of the texts. One cannot clearly distinguish the acts of reading out the texts and preaching. Preaching could be done using a book, and *legere* or *recitare* do not always necessarily have to mean "reading aloud". So far, however, with very few exceptions only a small number of well-known texts have been adduced in the literature on this subject. Perhaps more information is hidden in texts which are lesser known and which seem not quite so spectacular. Heene has shown that enlarging the corpus can provide new insights into the general developments of the hagiographical tradition.⁵² The reason for the differences in audience between Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography remain unclear. Ascribing apparent shifts to linguistic changes causing the definitive separation between Latin and Romance is appealing, but cannot be substantiated.

Returning to the central question of the intended reception of hagiographical texts in the early Middle Ages, the case for private reading seems clear enough. Considering the other possibilities, we are faced with the likelihood that in practice the reading out of texts may easily have developed into oral exposé on the basis of written texts. If so, we are faced with an unbridgeable gap between the preserved written texts and the oral exposés based on them that have gone forever.

Hagiographical Sermons and Preaching

This problem is familiar to students of sermons and homilies. They know that the texts they deal with are not necessarily the texts that were pronounced in preaching. Perhaps knowledge of early medieval preaching will provide some clues for establishing the possible audiences of hagiographical texts?

Research into early medieval sermons was and still is mainly concerned with the study of written texts rather than with the act of preaching. Clearly a distinction has to be made between the sermon as an oral discourse, which is usually held in a liturgical context or during a meeting with a religious purpose before a physically present audience, and the sermon as a published text with an implicit, more or less anonymous public. Both oral discourse and written text contain comments on the Faith and moral injunctions which are thought to

⁵² HEENE, "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography". ID., "*Audire, legere, vulgo*". Anne-Marie HELVETIUS, *Abbayes, évêques et laïques, une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (VI^e-XI^e siècle)* (Brussels, 1994), has shown how much new and valuable information can be gathered from an appraisal of lesser known hagiographical sources.

be important for their respective audiences.⁵³ The relations between the two are often unclear. A sermon may have been written beforehand and read out or expounded upon during oral delivery. It may also have been written out afterwards on the basis of an earlier sketch or outline, or from notes made during the delivery of the sermon. A written sermon may even have had nothing to do with any actual preaching. Establishing the relationship between the written and oral versions of a sermon which one knows has actually been pronounced, is one of the most difficult tasks in this kind of research.⁵⁴

In sermon studies as in the study of hagiography, the most telling indicators for oral delivery are of a linguistic nature. Surviving early medieval sermons from continental Europe are all written in Latin, even those written in Germanic speaking regions. From Anglo-Saxon England we also have sermons in the vernacular. On the Continent the vernacular was used for writing sermons only from the high Middle Ages onward.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, even if written, vernacular sermons were available in the later Middle Ages, it was quite common for preaching in the vernacular to use texts written in Latin.⁵⁶ For the early Middle Ages the evidence is less clear. In both royal and episcopal legislation from the eighth and ninth centuries, preachers are admonished to preach regularly and in a way that could be understood by their flock. As an example we may cite from the well-known synod held by Theodulph of Orléans in 797:

⁵³ G.C. ZIELEMAN, *Middel nederlandse epistel- en evangeliepreken* (Leiden, 1978: *Kerkhistorische bijdragen* 8), pp. 9-11. LONGÈRE, *Prédication médiévale*, pp. 12-17. John W. O'MALLEY S.J., "Introduction: medieval preaching", in: *De ore domini. Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas L. AMOS, Eugene A. GREEN and Beverly Mayne KIENZLE (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 1-11, at pp. 1-2. Beverly Mayne KIENZLE, "The typology of the medieval sermon and its development in the Middle Ages: report on work in progress", in: *De l'homélie au sermon, histoire de la prédication médiévale. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9-11 juillet 1992)*, ed. Jacqueline HAMESSE and Xavier HERMAND (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 83-101, at pp. 84-85. Cf. also the contribution of Niek THATE in: *Organizing the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts. Proceedings of the First Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht 5-7 June 1997*, ed. Marco MOSTERT (Turnhout, 1999: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 2) (in the press).

⁵⁴ Michel ZINK, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976), pp. 199-220. LONGÈRE, *Prédication médiévale*, pp. 155-164. KIENZLE, "Typology of the medieval sermon", pp. 85-88.

⁵⁵ For Anglo-Saxon England, see: Milton McC. GATCH, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977); Mary CLAYTON, "Homiliaries and preaching in Anglo-Saxon England", *Peritia* 4 (1985), pp. 207-242; Joyce HILL, "Reform and resistance: preaching styles in late Anglo-Saxon England", in: *De l'homélie au sermon*, pp. 15-46. For continental Europe in the High Middle Ages: ZINK, *Prédication en langue romane*, pp. 85-113; LONGÈRE, *Prédication médiévale*, pp. 161-164.

⁵⁶ LONGÈRE, *Prédication médiévale*, p. 163.

We exhort you to teach the people. He who knows the Scriptures let him preach the Scriptures, but whoever does not know them, let him at least tell the people what he knows best: In order that they depart from evil and do good, seek peace and pursue it, for the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous and his ears are [open] unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth (Psalm 33, 15-17). Then no-one will be able to make excuses for himself on the grounds that he has no language in which to edify anyone.⁵⁷

Part of this legislation seems to have been inspired by the resolution to solve problems in preaching arising from inadequate knowledge of the priests.⁵⁸ At the same time there is evidence, especially from the Germanic speaking regions, that preaching used the natural language of the flock, and that preaching aids were developed. This seems to be the reason for the production of Old High German texts in the abbey of Fulda. These German texts were, just as the Latin texts produced in the same centre, intended first of all for the clergy. They show that German was accepted as a language for instruction in the Faith.⁵⁹

Even though the surviving early medieval sermons are written in Latin, and even if many were certainly written for study by a monastic audience,⁶⁰ a part of this material seems to have been intended for popular preaching as well.⁶¹ A rare description of preaching in the vernacular around 800 is given in the *Vita Gregorii*, written by Liudger in the last decade of the eighth century or in the

⁵⁷ Theodulph of Orléans, *Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae* c. 28, ed. in: *Capitula episcoporum* 1, ed. Peter BROMMER (Hannover, 1984: MGH *Capitula episcoporum* 1), p. 125: "Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scriptura scit, praedicet scripturas; qui vero nescit, saltem hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat: Ut declinant a malo et faciant bonum, inquirant pacem et sequantur eam, quia oculi domini super iustos et aures eius ad preces eorum; vultus autem domini super facientes mala, ut perdat de terra memoriam eorum. Nullus ergo se excusare poterit, quod non habeat linguam, unde possit aliquem aedificare". Translation after Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977), pp. 190-191.

⁵⁸ MCKITTERICK, *Frankish Church*, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁹ MCKITTERICK, *Frankish Church*, pp. 191-205. Michel BANNIARD, "Rhabanus Maurus and the vernacular languages", in: *Latin and the Romance Languages*, pp. 164-174. Thomas L. AMOS, "Preaching and the sermon in the Carolingian world", in: *De ore domini*, pp. 41-60. For an overview of the surviving Old High German and Old Saxon material from the early Middle Ages, see: Wolfgang HAUBRICH, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, 1,1: *Die Anfänge: Versuche volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter (ca. 700-1050/60)*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen, 1995), and Cyril EDWARDS, "German vernacular literature: a survey", in: *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* ed. Rosamond MCKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 141-170.

⁶⁰ E.g. those studied by Henri BARRÉ, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre. Authenticité-inventaire-tableaux comparatifs-initia* (Città del Vaticano, 1962: *Studi e Testi* 225).

⁶¹ MCKITTERICK, *Frankish Church*, pp. 97-114. AMOS, "Preaching in the Carolingian world", pp. 47-53.

early years of the ninth.⁶² Liudger was a Frisian who as a child had been given into the care of Gregory, the leader of the monastic community at Utrecht and the hero of the *Vita Gregorii*. Later on, Liudger studied with Alcuin in York. After working as a missionary among the Frisians and Saxons he ended his life as the first bishop of Münster (804-809). Most of what we know about Liudger is told by Altfried, his cousin and second successor as bishop of Münster (839-849), who wrote the *Vita Liudgeri*.⁶³

At the beginning of the *Vita Gregorii*, Liudger tells the story of how Gregory met Boniface at the age of fifteen.⁶⁴ This happened in the convent *Palatium* near Trier, which was led by Gregory's grandmother Addula. Boniface stayed one night on his way to Thuringia. During dinner someone was needed to read from the Scriptures and Gregory, who had just returned from the palace, was given the task. We are told that Gregory performed remarkably well for his age. When the lesson was finished, Boniface praised Gregory and asked whether he understood what he had read. Gregory said he did, but when Boniface asked him how he understood it, he started once more to read out loud from the beginning. Soon Boniface interrupted him and explained his earlier question:

"I did not ask you, my son, to give me only your reading, but to explain your reading to me in your own words and in the natural language of your parents". And he, convinced through the correct reasoning by his superior, and not having any other reasons he could resort to, confessed that he was unable to do that. So the holy Boniface asked: "Would you like me to tell you, son?" And he answered: "Yes". Then the blessed Boniface said: "Repeat from the beginning your reading and read distinctly (*discrete*)". And so he did. Then the holy master started to preach in frank language (*libera voce*) to the abbess and the whole community.⁶⁵

⁶² Liudger, *Vita sancti Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis* (BHL No. 3680), ed. Oswald HOLDER-EGGER in: *Supplementum tomorum I-XII, pars III. Supplementum tomii XIII*, ed. Georg WAITZ, Wilhelm WATTENBACH a.o., 2 parts, part 1 (Hannover, 1887: MGH SS 15.1), pp. 66-79. Cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 33, and KLÜPPEL, "Die Germania", pp. 171-172.

⁶³ Altfried, *Vita sancti Liudgeri episcopi Mimigardefordensis et miracula* (BHL No. 4937), ed. W. DIEKAMP, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri* (Münster, 1881: *Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster* 4), pp. 3-53. Cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 60, and KLÜPPEL, "Die Germania", pp. 172-173.

⁶⁴ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁵ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, p. 68: "Non ita, fili, quaero, ut mihi dicas modo lectionem tuam, sed secundum proprietatem linguae tuae et naturalem parentum tuorum locutionem edissere mihi lectionem tuam." Ille vero recta ratione a superiore convictus, quo se alias verteret non habens, confessus est, quia hoc facere non potuisset. Sanctus vero inquit Bonifatius: 'Vis, fili, ut ego tibi dicam?' Et ille respondit: 'Volo.' Tunc beatus Bonifatius: 'Repete', ait, 'ab exordio lectionem tuam et discrete lege!' Qui et ita fecit. Tunc exorsus est sanctus magister et libera voce coepit praedicare et matri et omni familiae".

As a result of this Gregory became so impressed by Boniface that he wished to be his pupil. He urged his grandmother to allow him to follow Boniface. From then on Gregory was the pupil and follower of Boniface. According to the *Vita Gregorii* Gregory helped Boniface in his activities in Germany, travelled with him to Rome, where Boniface was ordained bishop, and finally became the leader of the Utrecht monastic community which was founded by Willibrord, and where, we are told, among many others he educated Liudger.⁶⁶

In this passage we see how Boniface improvised a sermon in the vernacular on the basis of a biblical passage read out in Latin. This is significant, because the whole of the *Vita Gregorii* seems to be about preaching and educating. Both Gregory and Boniface, who in the first half of the *vita* almost eclipses Gregory, are depicted as great preachers and teachers who convert multitudes and educate a large number of pupils.⁶⁷ In view of the emphasis on preaching which pervades the whole text, the story of the meeting of Gregory and Boniface has important implications.⁶⁸

From Boniface's explanation of his question to Gregory, we might be inclined to deduce that the saint asked for a translation of the passage that Gregory had read,⁶⁹ and that when a translation was not forthcoming he provided one himself. But what Boniface did is described as *praedicare*, preaching. And from the wording of his question to Gregory it becomes clear that Boniface did ask for more than just a translation. Both in his initial remark, "you read well, if you understand what you read",⁷⁰ and in his question, "tell me, how you understand what you read",⁷¹ Boniface employed the words of the apostle Philip's question to the Ethiopian eunuch who was reading Esaias (Acts 8,30).⁷²

⁶⁶ The *Vita Gregorii* is almost the only text that informs us about Gregory. Other *vitae* that mention him depend mostly on the *Vita Gregorii* for their information. However, in his passages about Boniface Liudger does not prove to be a reliable source. He turns Boniface's first two, short stays in Frisia, which together lasted a little over three years, into a long period of thirteen years. Cf. Ian WOOD, "Missionary hagiography in the eighth and ninth centuries", in: *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung* ed. Karl BRUNNER and Brigitte MERTA (Vienna and Munich, 1994), pp. 189-199, at p. 197.

⁶⁷ Most explicitly in: Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2-3, pp. 69-70; c. 5-6, pp. 71-72; c. 10-11, pp. 74-76.

⁶⁸ WOOD, "Missionary hagiography", pp. 197-198, suggests that Liudger wrote the *Vita Gregorii* as a model of what he himself wanted to accomplish.

⁶⁹ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, p. 68: "... quaero ... secundum proprietatem linguae tuae et naturalem parentum tuorum locutionem edissere mihi lectionem tuam".

⁷⁰ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, p. 68: "Bene legis, fili, si intelligis quae legis".

⁷¹ Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, p. 68: "Dic mihi, quomodo intelligis quae legis".

⁷² "Putasne intelligis quae legis?". Cf. Peter MÜLLER, "Verstehst du auch, was du liest?": *Lesen und Verstehen im Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt, 1994).

This is no doubt a conscious quotation. Just as the Ethiopian became a Christian through Philip's explanation, Boniface's preaching incited Gregory to become his pupil, and, later on, a preacher and teacher like Boniface himself. Apparently Boniface's manner of preaching, improvising in the vernacular on the basis of a Latin text, was the kind of preaching Liudger saw as the hallmark of the true preacher.

Another story mentioning preaching in the vernacular is the *Passio maior Kyliani* which was probably written in Würzburg in the middle of the ninth century.⁷³ Here we are told that, when the Irish monk Kilian came to Würzburg in the last quarter of the seventh century, he preached in the vernacular. The author stresses the importance of such preaching in spreading the Faith.

Then the honourable man gradually started to serve the unbelieving people the food of the divine Word. The Lord offered him such a grace that in a short time he learned the speech of the people (*gentis loquelam*) and could give them the seeds of the Truth in their own language. And everybody wondered not only about the new teaching, but also about his abundant eloquence. Faculty of speech was accompanied by efficacy of virtue. In him was fulfilled what the Truth had promised the apostles: "I shall give you a mouth and wisdom" (Luke 21, 15), and also: "The works that I do, shall you do also" (John 14, 12).⁷⁴

Shortly after this passage the *Passio maior Kyliani* gives a glimpse of what the content of missionary preaching in the vernacular should be. As Kilian's efforts became successful, he was brought before duke Gozbert, who wanted to know about the new doctrine that Kilian was preaching. Kilian availed himself of the opportunity and expounded the Christian faith by pronouncing a Creed.

When the blessed man had come to him [duke Gozbert], he started steadfast to expound the doctrine of the true religion, saying that there is one God, the maker of visible and invisible creation, consisting of a Trinity of persons and an unity of Divinity; and that Jesus Christ, who was crucified by the Jews, was in one person truly God and truly man, in his divine nature the equal of the Father, in his human nature made mortal, through Whom the rational

⁷³ *Passio maior sancti Kyliani et sociorum eius* (BHL No. 4661), ed. Franz EMMERICH, *Der heilige Kilian. Regionarbischof und Martyrer* (Würzburg, 1896), pp. 11-25. For a summary of the problems surrounding the two Carolingian *passiones* of saint Kilian, see: Hans-Werner GOETZ, "Die Viten des hl. Kilian", in: *Kilian, Mönch aus Irland—aller Franken patron. Aufsätze*, ed. Johannes ERICHSEN and Evamaria BROCKHOFF (Munich, 1989: *Veröffentlichungen zur bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur* 19), pp. 287-297.

⁷⁴ *Passio maior Kyliani*, c. 7, pp. 14-15: "Porro venerabilis vir paulatim coepit pabula divini verbi incredulis populis ministrare; tantam etenim ei Dominus gratiam contulerat, ut in brevi tempore gentis loquelam perdisceret et eis proprio sermone semina veritatis erogaret. Mirabantur autem omnes non solum novitatem doctrinae, sed exuberantiam quoque eloquentiae; facundiam etiam sermonis comitabatur efficacia virtutis; impletum est in illo, quod veritas apostolis promisit; 'Ego,' inquit, 'dabo vobis os et sapientiam' et item: 'Opera, quae ego facio, et vos facietis' ".

and mortal creation, misled by the deceit of the envious enemy, may be mercifully restored.⁷⁵

Apparently, in the middle of the ninth century it was considered proper to preach in the vernacular about Christian dogma. This is not very surprising, since it would be foolish to try to teach people in a language they did not understand, such as Latin, as was doubtless the case for most of the inhabitants of the diocese of Würzburg.⁷⁶

We may conclude that in the early Middle Ages it was normal for preaching to be done in a language that was understandable to illiterate people. Whenever the spoken language was somehow different from written Latin, the written texts were adapted to the spoken language.

What implications does this have for the reception of hagiographical texts? Although most sermons expounded material taken from Scripture, some also used other, e.g. hagiographical material.⁷⁷ Alcuin's homily on Willibrord has already been mentioned several times, and he also wrote an accompanying homily to his *Vita Vedasti*.⁷⁸ These homilies were meant for the laity. From the diocese of Utrecht, four sermons on saints have survived attributed to bishop Radbod (900-917); these were probably meant for a monastic audience.⁷⁹ For

⁷⁵ *Passio maior Kyliani*, c. 8, p. 15: "Ad quem cum a beato viro perventum esset, constanter verae dogma religionis insinuare coepit, docens: unum esse Deum, visibilis et invisibilis creaturac auctorem, in trinitate personarum et unitate divinitatis consistentem; Jesum Christum a Judaeis crucifixum, in una persona verum Deum verumque hominem, in natura divinitatis aequalem Patri, in natura humanitatis factum mortalem, per quem rationalis mortalisque creatura. invidi hostis fraude decepta, sit misericorditer reparata".

⁷⁶ MCKITTERICK, *Frankish Church*, pp. 187-192. AMOS, "Preaching in the Carolingian World". BANNIARD, "Rhabanus Maurus".

⁷⁷ KIENZLE, "Typology of the medieval sermon", p. 85. THOMAS L. AMOS, "Early Medieval Sermons and the Holy", in: *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons. Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May 1995)*, ed. Beverly Mayne KIENZLE a.o. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 23-34.

⁷⁸ Alcuin, *Adhortatio ad imitandas virtutes sancti Vedasti* (BHL No. 8509), ed. in: *PL* 101, col. 678-681; Alcuin, *Vita sancti Vedasti episcopi Atrebatensis* (BHL Nos. 8506-8508), ed. in: *Passiones ...* 1 (MGH SRM 3), pp. 414-427.

⁷⁹ *Sermo de sancto Servatio* (BHL No. 7614), ed. c. DE SMETH. "Sancti Servatii Tungrensis episcopi vitae antiquiores tres", *Analecta hollandiana* 1 (1882), pp. 104-111; cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 80. *Sermo sancti Radbodi de sancto Switberto* (BHL No. 7939), ed. in: *PL* 132, col. 547-550; cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 88. *Sermo Radbodi de vita sanctae virginis Christi Amelbergae* (BHL No. 322), ed. in: *PL* 132, col. 549-554; cf.

CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 8. *Homilia sancti Radbodi de sancto Lehwino* (BHL No. 4814), ed. in: *PL* 132, col. 553-558; cf. CARASSO-KOK, *Repertorium*, No. 53. For these and other works by Radbod, see: Michel TRIGALET, *Radbod d'Utrecht. Introduction à une hagiographie pastorale* (Mémoire de licence, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990-1991), and Wolfert VAN EGMOND, *Bisschop*

the eleventh century, De Gaiffier has demonstrated the existence of hagiographical sermons aimed at pilgrims visiting monasteries.⁸⁰ There are references to the oral transmission of hagiographical stories by lay *ioculatores*.⁸¹ It is just as difficult to establish how hagiographical sermons were used as it is to arrive at conclusions about any other sermons; but at least they reveal that in the early Middle Ages hagiographical material was used for preaching to unlearned audiences.

We can now compare these modest data about early medieval sermons with what is thought to be known about the writing of hagiography for lay audiences in Merovingian and Carolingian times. The conclusion may be that, although under the Carolingians hagiographers apparently wrote in the first place for a clerical public, it is very likely that hagiographical texts could still be transmitted to unlearned audiences through oral performances other than reading the texts themselves. The latter might have been feasible in areas where Latin could still be understood when a Latin text was read aloud. Elsewhere, expositions in the vernacular based on Latin texts must of necessity have been the rule.

Manuscripts of Hagiographical Sermons

A final example of a sermon may point to a new avenue for studying the reception of hagiographical texts. Information may be gained by scrutinizing the manuscripts in which the texts survive.

The *Sermo in festivitate sancti Marsi presbyteri et confessoris* is preserved in a composite German manuscript from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, kept in the Vatican library (Codex Reg. lat. 497).⁸² The sermon itself, written in a hand from the first half of the twelfth century, tells about the translation of the

Radbod van Deventer (900-917) en de kerstening van het Utrechtse (Doctoraalscriptie, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1995).

⁸⁰ DE GAIFFIER, "L'hagiographie et son public", pp. 489-499.

⁸¹ DE GAIFFIER, "L'hagiographie et son public", p. 497. The views on the *ioculatores* of Michael RICHTER, *The Oral Tradition in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1994: *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* 71), are highly problematical.

⁸² *Sermo in festivitate sancti Marsi presbyteri et confessoris*, ed. Klemens HONSELMANN, "Eine Essener Predigt zum Feste des hl. Marsus aus dem 9. Jahrhundert. Mit einer Einleitung versehen, herausgegeben und übersetzt", *Westfälische Zeitschrift. Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 110 (1960), pp. 199-221, at pp. 208-220. Cf. Albert PONCELET S.J., *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels, 1910: *Subsidia hagiographica* 11), pp. 339-341, p. 341, No. 17 and pp. 525-526; and Andreas WILMART, *Codices Reginenses latini* 2 (Città del Vaticano, 1945), under MS Reg. lat. 497.

relics of Saint Marsus from Auxerre to Saxony in 864.⁸³ The author was among the Saxons who went to Auxerre to obtain the relics.⁸⁴ In the text and in the margins a number of small changes and notes is visible, which point at the use made of the manuscript. In the margins are written the numbers II, III, V, VI, VII and VIII; the letter "F" occurs several times. The numbers indicate different lessons, whereas the "F" must be read as *Finis*, indicating the end of a lesson (although not every number has been provided with a corresponding "F"). Later on, changes were made in the number and size of the lessons. The new lessons partly correspond to changes made within the text. The name *Marsus* is crossed out in several places and replaced by the name *Felix*, and at the beginning *martyris Felicis* has substituted *confessoris Marsi*. Since the contents of the new lessons was of a rather general nature, it was very easy to adapt the text on Saint Marsus into a text on the martyr Felix. Once this was done, the next step was to change some of these passages into a kind of passe-partout for the celebration of any saint by inserting phrases like "the most glorious confessor lord N, whose feast we celebrate today, was sad ...", and writing *N* as an alternative before the names *Marsus* and *Felix*.⁸⁵

This Latin sermon seems to have been written for a monastic audience. The almost formulary character of the final set of lessons points at a reading aloud of at least the selected parts in a monastic setting. More importantly, the manuscript suggests that in oral delivery the whole of the written text was not necessarily pronounced: parts of it could be taken out and used on their own, even if the text was a sermon apparently meant to be preached *in toto*.

It seems likely that further study of hagiographical manuscripts, with due attention paid to their structure, the organization of the hagiographical texts they contain, and the minute changes made by their users will provide us with valuable information on the intended and actual audiences of medieval hagiographical texts.⁸⁶

⁸³ HONSELMANN, "Eine Essener Predigt", pp. 200-201. Hedwig RÖCKELEIN, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Hamburg, 1997), pp. 258-275, shows that this sermon probably does not describe a translation from Auxerre to the women's convent of Essen, as Poncelet and Honselmann claimed, but rather to the men's convent of Höxter, near Corvey, whence the relics were later brought to Essen.

⁸⁴ *Sermo in festivitate Marsi*, c. 3, p. 208; c. 8, p. 212.

⁸⁵ HONSELMANN, "Eine Essener Predigt", pp. 202-204: "Gloriosus confessor domini N, cuius hodie festa celebramus, tristabatur".

⁸⁶ Cf. for the study of hagiographical manuscripts also *Manuscripts hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, ed. Martin HEINZELMANN (Sigmaringen, 1992; *Beihefte der Francia* 24).

Provisional Conclusions

We have tried to get a bit closer to the audience of the surviving early medieval hagiographical texts. Of course the conclusion remains that we do not really know. Only a relatively small group was able to read the texts independently. In the sixth and seventh centuries probably the whole population of the (later) Romance speaking areas could understand Latin hagiographical texts without special training when they were read out to them. This possibility had certainly disappeared (in Gaul) by the year 1000, but it is not clear when exactly problems in understanding spoken Latin arose. Whenever this happened, reading the surviving hagiographical texts aloud was rendered unpractical as a means of communicating their contents to unlearned laymen. In both the Germanic and the Romance speaking areas alike, at all times a hagiographical text might be used in preaching. A Latin text could inspire or aid preaching in a language understandable to laymen. We may assume that this use of hagiographical texts was quite common, but there is no means to establish how widespread the practice was. The authors of the texts may have been aware of the homiletical use to which their writings were put, but did not find it necessary to allude to it. They wrote first of all for a clerical audience, which was at least semi-literate.

Since it is impossible to make general statements about the audience of hagiographical texts, it will be necessary to consider every single text individually. If we limit ourselves, as has been customary in discussions of the topic so far, to a small number of well-known examples, we run a grave risk of arriving at erroneous conclusions. In the debate on the relationship between Latin and Romance, a very small number of hagiographical witnesses is commonly invoked: the *Vita Eligii*, Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* and *Vita Richarii*, and Hincmar's *Vita Remigii*. The risk of generalizing from such a minute sample may be mitigated by enlarging the corpus of texts. Katrien Heene has brilliantly revealed an important change in the intended audience of hagiography by studying a large number of Merovingian and Carolingian texts. The few examples from Auxerre, Utrecht and Würzburg mentioned in this article show that it may be worthwhile to include the hagiographical production of these dioceses in future studies. However, not only the study of "new" texts may increase our knowledge. A fresh look at the manuscripts of already well-known texts may also prove fruitful. The manuscript of the sermon on Saint Marsus serves as an example of the valuable information a manuscript-oriented approach may provide. Most likely the definitive answer to the questions of the audience of early medieval hagiography must remain elusive. Yet a careful reading of the few

available sources may enable us to determine the limits and ambiguities of our knowledge.

“Send More Socks”: On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters¹

MARY GARRISON

The extant latin letters from early medieval western Europe can be compared to the tip of an iceberg. Yet they are an unrepresentative sample. They can be demonstrated to constitute the merest subset of the total number of messages drafted and sent—namely the letters which were intentionally preserved and copied, usually because someone produced a letter-collection from some part of a sender's drafts. Principles of selection varied of course, but in general the selectivity entailed by intentional preservation on parchment has ensured that entire categories of written communication either do not survive or else are barely attested. Informal letters, letters by the laity, ephemeral business notes (evidence of what is termed “pragmatic literacy”) and love letters are categories are all poorly represented in the extant corpus. This lacuna has sometimes led scholars to postulate reliance on oral communication for spheres of activity for

¹ This article presents an overview of various issues, some of which I discuss in more detail in published and forthcoming articles. I thank my Pionier Project colleagues for stimulating discussion and Marco Mostert for patience and editorial assistance; I am also greatly indebted to the generosity and expertise of many people who have helped me: John Lind, Inger Larsson, Barbro Söderberg, David Ganz, and especially to both Michael Clanchy, who provided essential basic bibliographic advice on Bergen and lent me his copy of *Norges Innskrifter med de Yngre Runer* VI, and to Willem Vermeer for loans of articles and indispensable help with the Novgorod beresty. I also thank Peter Linehan, Constant Mews and Dieter Schaller for references to their work. Needless to say, the attempt to survey several fields outside my own may have resulted in errors or omissions, for which I take responsibility.

which letters are lacking. Through circular reasoning, widespread lay illiteracy has both been seen as the cause of this lacuna, and has been inferred from it.

Comparing these Latin letters preserved in libraries with letters from other contexts which were deliberately discarded and subsequently recovered from archaeological sites can open the way to a more optimistic assessment of the extent of written communication in the early medieval West. A survey of the voices from the garbage dump—the letters on wood excavated at the Roman fortress at Vin-dolanda, the Bryggen harbour site in Bergen and Medieval Novgorod—can provide an illuminating contrast to the corpus of Latin letters from the early medieval West.

It is an untested commonplace that “government, trade and administration” rather than literature and religion have been the foster parents of literacy.² Yet one only has to look at the development and use of new communications technology in our own day to be reminded how quickly a fundamental human need, the need for contact and communication, takes its place alongside pragmatic and administrative motives for literacy—above all, where communication rather than record-keeping is concerned.³ There is perhaps no more vivid reminder of the primacy of this impulse than the phenomenal popularity of the internet, e-mail and mobile telephones, developed for defense and business use but now media for non-stop socializing and recreation.

But while we have the luxury of cheap and rapid or even simultaneous communication technology, and are correspondingly profligate with our written and oral long-distance messages, the extant letters from the early Middle Ages in contrast were laboriously dictated in Latin and conveyed by messengers in a world where travel was slow and dangerous, costly in time and risk if not money.⁴ From the surviving corpus of Latin letters from the early medieval West, one can get the impression that written long-distance communication was primarily reserved for theological disputes and high politics and that oral communication was over-

² British Library Exhibition notes (1989?); J. GOODY, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge, 1986: *Studies in Literacy, Family, Culture and the State*), see chapters 2, “The word of Mammon” and 3, “The State, the bureau and the file”, pp. 87-126.

³ See, e.g. T. SALMINEN, “Multilinguality and written correspondence in the late medieval Northern Baltics: Reflections of literacy and language in the communication between the Council of Reval and the Finnish Bailiffs”, *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997), pp. 151-162, at p. 153.

⁴ D. GORCE, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV^e et V^e siècles* (Paris, 1925).

whelmingly important in other spheres. But is the impression a fair one? Can the extant letters be regarded as typical in any meaningful way?

Before one can generalize about the nature of written communication in a past society, it is essential to assess the representativeness of the messages that survive. What letters did people choose to save? What did they discard? And how are these two categories reflected in the surviving evidence? The vast majority of extant medieval Latin letters are available to us because they were intentionally preserved and recopied, and lucky enough to escape destruction. But what of those which encountered bad luck and no good intentions? It would be a mistake to draw conclusions about literacy and even mentality in a past society by assuming that the extant material is all that once existed.

To arrive at a more nuanced and positive estimate of the importance of written communication in the early medieval West, one must consider the problem from as many angles as possible. First one must consider how the extant letters came to be preserved. Then the extent of lost letters must be assessed, qualitatively and quantitatively. Possible correlations should be sought between the writing support, contents and preservation context of the extant letters. Finally, comparanda from other cultures with contrasting survival patterns for written communication can be invoked. It is a striking fact that regarding Latin letters of the early medieval West we possess almost exclusively texts that were deliberately preserved, whereas for other medieval cultural areas, only letters deliberately discarded are available for study.

The purpose of this article is to pursue some of these lines of attack (though not all with equal thoroughness) and to explore the consequences of a fundamental contrast—that between what one might call “garbage dump” evidence for literacy and letter-writing on the one hand, and manuscript evidence on the other. It may be useful to begin with some remarks about lost letters and then to examine the correlation between the material on which letters were written and their contents. Letters preserved on parchment and intentionally stored in libraries and archives can seem to reveal a mental world completely different from that illustrated by texts from archaeological excavations.

Lost Letters

Lost evidence for communication can be approached quantitatively, by cataloguing evidence for *deperdita* in existing collections and by listing entire collections known to have perished. A qualitative approach is also possible and invites

one to consider groups of people or activities and achievements which could not have been accomplished without literate skills and communications.⁵ For example, some of the monumental earthworks of the early Middle Ages, Offa's dyke and the Karlsgrab (Charlemagne's unsuccessful attempt to have a canal dug to join the Rednitz and the Altmühl) must have required numerous messages to requisition labour, food and shelter, not to mention considerable surveying skills. Wooden and papyrus records can show us how the Roman army and its bureaucracy met these challenges, but the records are largely silent for eighth-century rulers.⁶ Does this entitle us to assume that such projects were arranged orally and on an ad hoc basis? (I would argue that the burden of proof is on the oralists!) More mundane arrangements also surely entailed written communication. Letters of excuse and letters of commendation for travellers are two other important categories of activity requiring written communication; both must once have been exceedingly numerous, but only the tiniest fraction of their original quantity has been preserved. Messages announcing a king's travels and arranging food and shelter for the men and animals in his retinue are also exceedingly rare.

Likewise, letters concerning domestic affairs, laundry and farm- and estate management are also poorly represented among Medieval Latin letters. Yet it is obvious that the everyday business of ordinary people, not just rulers and clerics, can also benefit from or even require literate means for its accomplishment. Consider the following notes:

From Boris to Nastasya. As soon as you receive this letter, send me a man on horseback, since I have a lot to do here. Oh yes, send a shirt, I forgot one.⁷

I have sent (?) you ... pairs of socks from Sattua, two pairs of sandals and two pairs of underpants, two pairs of sandals... Greet ...ndes, Elpis, Iu..., ...enus, Tetricus and all your messmates with whom I pray that you live in the greatest good fortune.⁸

⁵ See my forthcoming article on "Early medieval letters of excuse as evidence for literacy and communication".

⁶ But see M. MERSIOWSKY, "Regierungspraxis und Schriftlichkeit im Karolingerreich: Das Fallbeispiel der Mandate und Briefe", in: *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern*, ed. R. SCHIEFFER (Opladen, 1996: *Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen* 97), pp. 110-166.

⁷ V. YANIN, "The Archeology of Novgorod", *Scientific American*, February 1990, pp. 84-91, at p. 87.

⁸ A.K. BOWMAN and J.D. THOMAS (with contributions by J.N. ADAMS), *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandeses II)* (London, 1994), No. 346, pp. 335-336.

The cloak that I left at Troas, with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, specially the parchments.⁹

Such written messages about new clothes and forgotten clothes sound strangely familiar despite their diverse origins. They are a category of everyday message that is still coming to light: until a couple of decades ago, the first two texts were unknown, still buried on pieces of wood in the damp ground of Novgorod and Corbridge, respectively, while the third text lurks in the Pauline epistles. A dedicated reader of the large corpus of letters assembled in the volumes of the MGH *Epistolae* series might register them with interest: for although allusions to fishing, short cloaks, bad beer and large print books can be found there, references to material culture and everyday life are relatively scarce and must be patiently culled from the ubiquitous topoi of amicitia, requests for reciprocal prayers, long discussions of theology and politics, and other characteristic preoccupations of high-ranking ecclesiastics and rulers.

Why should practical and informal messages be so poorly represented in the corpus of extant letters? One might try to explain their scarcity by an appeal to widespread popular illiteracy, by assuming, in short, that those who forgot their shirts were usually unable to read or write, while those who could write had delegated responsibility for their laundry and other practical matters to others. But those assumptions are not only too simple; they are also untestable. They do not satisfactorily explain the lacunae in the evidence. Instead, it may be more illuminating to analyze the patterns of preservation for medieval latin letters between the sixth and the ninth centuries.

*The Survival and Transmission of Early Medieval Latin Letters*¹⁰

⁹ 2 Tim. 4, 13 (King James Version).

¹⁰ G. CONSTABLE, *Letters and Letter Collections* (Turnhout, 1976: *Typologie des Sources du moyen âge occidental* 17). For the earlier period, see H. HOFFMANN, "Zur Mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik", in: *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10. April 1964*, ed. K. REGEN and S. SKALWEIT (Münster, 1964), pp. 141-170; B. SCHMIEDLER, "Ueber Briefsammlungen des früheren Mittelalters in Deutschland und ihre kritische Verwertung", *Årsbok, Vetenskaps-societen i Lund* (Lund, 1926), pp. 5-27; D. WHITELOCK, *English Historical Documents 1: c. 500-1042*, 2nd edn. (London, 1979), pp. 620-628; I. WOOD, "Letters and letter-collections from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages: The prose works of Avitus of Vienne", in: *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. MEYER (London, 1993), pp. 29-43. For an overview, M. GARRISON, "Letter Collections", in: *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* ed. M. LAPIDGE a.o. (London, 1999), pp. 283-284.

The most fundamental feature of medieval Latin letters is that they were almost without exception intentionally preserved through recopying into manuscripts, usually letter-collections or miscellanies. Because of their exceptional authority, papal letters and those concerned with church discipline had slightly better survival chances and might survive as originals or through inclusion into various normative compilations.

Thus we owe extant letter-texts to a combination of deliberate selection with good luck. It is well known that scarcely any medieval Latin letters survive in their original form. There are perhaps less than half a dozen from before the year 1000 and the note inscribed on the back of one remarkable exception explains why.¹¹ It reads "useless letter"—useless, that is, because the letter lacked legal value in the eyes of those who ensured its preservation in a monastic archive. Accordingly, letter collections are the most important vehicle for the transmission of letters. Letter collections could be assembled either from the sender's drafts or from the receiver's copies; the two processes are known as *Absenderüberlieferung* or "sender transmission" and *Empfängerüberlieferung* or "receiver transmission". Apart from papal letters and letters perceived to have important bearing on ecclesiastical questions, which are often disseminated by receiver transmission, most early medieval letters are preserved in collections more or less closely associated with their senders and in many cases it can be shown that a close associate or later hagiographer was responsible for recopying the preserved drafts of outgoing letters. But whereas classical, late antique, and twelfth-century letter-writers had often issued carefully edited collections of their letters¹² the impulse to produce authorial collections waned and is scarcely detectable between Avitus of Vienne (ca. 500 AD) and Alcuin (†804). Surviving collections can be demonstrated to

¹¹ P. CHAPLAIS, "The letter from bishop Wealdhere of London to archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury: The earliest original 'letter close' extant in the West", in: *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. M.B. PARKES and A.G. WATSON (London, 1978), pp. 3-23. For an eighth-century papal letter preserved in its original form, see: *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile Edition of the Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. A. BRUCKNER and R. MARICHAL, part XVI, France IV (Zürich, 1986), No. 630 (the text is printed by W. GUNDLACH in: *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* 1, ed. W. GUNDLACH, E. DÜMMLER a.o. (Hannover, 1892: MGH Epp 3), pp. 654-657). T. SCHIEFFER, "Zu einem Briefe der späten Karolingerzeit", *Deutsches Archiv* 2 (1938), pp. 193-204; F.W. OEDIGER, "Das älteste Zeugnis für den Namen Xanten (Sanctos super Rhenum): Zur Datierung eines Briefes aus der Karolingerzeit", *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 144-145 (1946-1947), pp. 39-43.

¹² On classical collections, see H. PETER, *Der Brief in der römischen Literatur* (1901; reprint Hildesheim, 1965).

contain only a small fraction of a writer's epistolary output, and entire collections associated with other individuals can be shown to have perished completely.¹³

Thus, even the letters that were intended to be saved had poor chances of survival. In addition to collections more or less closely associated with a single individual (though perhaps containing letters by associated contemporaries), some miscellaneous or mixed collections were compiled; the criteria for inclusion are not always clear-cut, but items transmitted in these miscellaneous collections may be united by their destination or their place of origin or both.¹⁴ Mixed collections are often termed formularies, although the designation can be misleading, since the evidence of annotations and extant letters does not justify the assumption that all so-called formularies were intended to serve as models for drafting letters; elementary instruction and reading were among the many purposes of mixed collections.¹⁵ Documentary formularies should be distinguished from mixed letter collections. Although texts are frequently anonymized in both sorts of collections, anonymization cannot be taken as a criterion for identifying formularies.

Collections associated with named individuals are usually one-sided as a result of a standard ancient and medieval archiving practice, the segregated storage of incoming letters and drafts of outgoing letters (still a feature in most e-mail programmes).¹⁶ As a result, paired letters and replies are unusual. Thus despite the fact that letters as a medium are intrinsically dialogical, the surviving epistolary evidence is overwhelmingly one-sided. And so recipients' reactions to invective and flattery are usually unknown.¹⁷

Letters not copied into collections or formularies had slim chances of survival. If of outstanding interest, they might be incorporated into a history or chronicle.

¹³ I survey more instances of such loss in my forthcoming article "Epistolae deperditae: Lost Letters from Alcuin's Correspondence".

¹⁴ For literature and discussion of two such collections, See M. GARRISON, "Letters to a king and biblical authority: The examples of Cathulf and Clemens Peregrinus", *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), pp. 305-328.

¹⁵ C.D. LANHAM, "Freshman composition in the early Middle Ages: Epistolography and rhetoric before the *Ars Dictaminis*", *Viator* 23 (1992), pp. 115-134.

¹⁶ A practice that derives from Roman imperial practice and papal registering procedures, on which see T.F.X. NOBLE, "Literacy and the papal government in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages", in: *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. MCKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 82-108 at p. 87.

¹⁷ For exceptions, see the (possibly fictional) letters of Frodebertus and Importunus, ed. G. WALSTRA, *Les cinq épîtres rimées dans l'appendice des formules de Sens, Codex parisinus Latinus 4627, fol. 27v-29r, La Querelle des évêques Frodebert et Importun (an. 665/666)* (Leiden, 1963); also *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam "quae vocatur"*, ed. C.W. BARLOW (Rome and Horn, 1938).

Or, for reasons we can only guess at, they might be copied onto a fly-leaf or a blank leaf in a manuscript.¹⁸ In some cases such preservation clearly reflects the intention to preserve a text, especially when the letter had some documentary value; in others, the copyist's attitude to the text is impossible to divine. One can only conclude that this category of copying reveals contemporary awareness of the vulnerability to loss of stray items on single sheets or parchment or other media. A rare example of a palimpsested letter seems to attest to both an attempt to preserve and to destroy.¹⁹ As a general principle it seems that stray letters by otherwise unknown individuals will owe their preservation to the initiative of receivers or messengers rather than the writers, but this apparent regularity may be a self-fulfilling-prophecy: if an obscure individual's literary remains (including his own drafts of his outgoing correspondence) perished with the archives of his monastery, then of course the only writings by that person to survive will be those multiplied or preserved in other locations.

One might call this pattern "receiver-transmission preservation of the stray letters of obscure people". It can help to explain the gender bias of the Latin epistolary evidence. Letters by women tend to survive in receiver-transmission incorporated into the letter collections associated with men, usually the men they wrote to, even though female letter-writers, like men, must often have saved their drafts and must have engaged in correspondence with both men and other women. Thus the letters of Jerome's female correspondents, those of the mothers of Desiderius of Cahors and of Leodegar of Autun,²⁰ or of Radegunde of Poitiers, of women in the Boniface-mission, of Alcuin's female correspondents, and of Einhard's wife, either survive in small numbers embedded in other collections or else are attested only through the replies of their male correspondents. These literate women were surely engaged in correspondence with more than one other person, but their own drafts generated no surviving independent sender-transmission collections. A number of factors may have contributed to this lacuna: women letter-writers might have lacked literary executors, scriptorial resources or the esteem and interest that ensured recopying of their letters.²¹ Whether receivers and collection-compilers

¹⁸ For one example of fly-leaf letters, see B. BISCHOFF, "Briefe des IX. Jahrhunderts: I. Eine westfränkische Briefsammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Karls III. und König Odos", in his *Anecdota Novissima: Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984: *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 7), pp. 123-138 at pp. 123-135.

¹⁹ For a letter preserved by palimpsesting earlier texts, see *Königsbrief Karls d. Gr. an Papst Hadrian über Abt-Bischof Waldo von Reichenau-Pavia: Palimpsest-Urkunde aus cod. lat. monac. 6333*, ed. E. MUNDING (Beuron, 1920: *Texte und Arbeiten* I.6).

²⁰ On Herchenefreda and Sigrada, see HOFFMANN, "Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik", p. 152.

²¹ But for an example of a collection perhaps assembled in a nunnery and containing an

preserved these letters from women as curiosities or because they realised that the women's letters would otherwise be unlikely to survive is a matter for speculation. Interrupted institutional continuity and library histories could also account for the loss of any collections that once existed. Yet although one can suggest that women's religious houses suffered from more institutional discontinuity, poverty, or library disruptions than men's institutions, it is not possible to substantiate or even test this hypothesis here. The only clear conclusion is that women's letters must once have existed in appreciable numbers and that they had poorer chances of survival than letters by men.

But gender bias is not the only distortion incurred by the survival patterns of the evidence for early medieval correspondence. The fact that we depend on ecclesiastical copyists means that many categories of correspondence would have been neglected or systematically excluded. Texts concerning daily affairs, estate management, arrangements to supply or shelter a royal army are massively underrepresented in the extant evidence, although writing and even some rudimentary bureaucratic forms were surely necessary for many of these. Here, deposits from garbage dumps rather than libraries and archives can enrich our perspective. The medieval Latin letters extant today are a demonstrably minute subset of the letters which contemporaries strove to preserve or else neglected to destroy. What of those they deliberately discarded?

In short: the nonchalance about originals, later recopying and preservation by third parties, the transmission of letters in collections associated with single individuals of responsibility and influence— all of these characteristic features of early medieval Latin letter collections on parchment have far-reaching implications, both for our ability to interpret extant letters and for our capacity to guess at the tenor and even the original format and appearance of lost originals. Individual texts and collections were vulnerable to selection and omission at every stage of recopying. Because marks of authentication and addresses have usually been lost from copied letters²² we therefore know little about signs of authentication or other

exceptional number of letters by women, see: B. BISCHOFF, "Salzburger Formelbücher und Briefe aus Tassilonischer und Karolingischer Zeit" (Munich, 1973: *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1973, Heft 4), pp. 3-84; for Bischoff's conjecture of Nonnberg as the place of origin of one of the collections, see pp. 17-18 and 50.

²² For copies of marks including indications of address, see examples in the Boniface collection, ed. M. TANGL, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus (S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae)* (Berlin, 1916: *MGH Epp. selectae* 1); from the English Abbot Eanwulf, Nos. 93, 119-120, 122, and HOFFMANN, "Zur Mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik" discusses problems of authentication at length, pp. 143 ff. Ancient wooden and wax tablet letters which survive as originals quite frequently have indications of the address.

visual cues that would have distinguished letters addressed to kings, as opposed to, say, simple memoranda to bailiffs.

As we have seen, these transmission patterns interact with gender and contents in ways which further distort the representativeness of the surviving evidence. The most stable places of preservation for letters and other documents were naturally monastic and episcopal armaria. But even if ecclesiastical libraries and archives were the filing boxes of the middle ages, they were far from fireproof. Books and documents from countless religious houses have perished utterly.²³

The Garbage Dump vs. The Library

One way to get some insight into ephemeral discarded messages is through comparisons with the contents and find-circumstances of ephemeral letters that were thrown away in other times and places. Evidence for communication recovered from archaeological contexts rather than archives has been able to revolutionize scholarly understanding of literacy and society in a number of pre-modern societies in a way that no amount of careful reinterpretation of archivally preserved texts could have done. Messages deemed ephemeral by contemporaries might be discarded systematically—buried in jars,²⁴ thrown into rubbish pits, sealed into rooms,—or haphazardly lost, discarded in a harbour or dropped between wooden slats of a floor or a walkway, only to be discovered later by the most extraordinary luck. When found, such messages bring the voices of previously mute subjects back into history. It is significant that most finds of discarded letters have been on wood,²⁵ yet wood messages were not usually continuously preserved in libraries and archives.²⁶ The dichotomy between preserved parchment letters

²³ E.g. D.P. KIRBY, "Bede's native sources for the *Historia Ecclesiastica*", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1965-1966), pp. 341-371. Part of the library and archive of the monastery of Lidlum (Frisia) was discarded at the time of its dissolution. Amateur archaeologists with metal detectors found seals of several abbots. See J.M. BOS, *Archeologie van Friesland* (Utrecht, 1995), p. 180.

²⁴ In the East, Christians and Jews alike disposed scrupulously of texts containing abbreviations for the name of God by sealing them in jars or burying them. See M.D. GOODMAN, "Texts, scribes and power in Roman Judaea", in: *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A.K. BOWMAN and G. WOOLF (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 99-108, at p. 101; R.L. FOX, "Literacy and Power in Early Christianity", *ibid.*, pp. 126-148 at p. 130.

²⁵ Papyrus, slate and ostraka (potsherds) however are also known. In general, wood is available and likely to be preserved in wet northerly latitudes whereas papyrus and ostraka are available in mediterranean climes, where their chances of survival are enhanced by the dryness.

²⁶ For an exception, the accounting records of Halle, where wax tablets were used for

and others almost seems to point to a two-tier communication system divided between parchment and wood or other readily available substances which required less complicated preparation than animal skin.

The poor chances of preservation of wooden objects affect our view of almost every aspect of past cultures, not merely communication. It has been estimated that ninety percent of Medieval household objects were made of wood, yet durable substances such as metal, glass and stone are overwhelmingly represented in museum exhibitions.²⁷ One writer commented: "if wood has not survived on the site, the picture of life presented to the archaeologist is distorted out of all recognition".²⁸ Another has signalled the paramount importance of wood as a raw material in prehistoric and early historic times for a huge range of uses: dwellings, household objects, vessels, tools, artwork, even weapons and jewelry and stressed the importance of extrapolating from *Parallelüberlieferung* to make good the gaps in the archaeological and historical record.²⁹

The survival patterns for wax-writing tablets might serve as an emblem for the distortions incurred by making assumptions from lost evidence.³⁰ It is clear that wax tablets were continuously in use from Antiquity, throughout the Middle Ages, and even in some places, until the nineteenth century; the American children's toy called a "magic slate" illustrates the persistence of wax as a cheap reusable writing surface even in our times. Yet although the styli for writing on wax tablets have been found in large numbers, there are far fewer extant wax-tablets dateable between, say, 600 and 1200 AD than for the centuries before or after. An image of decline parallel to the "Dark Ages" and relieved by the twelfth-century renaissance? Hardly. Despite the gap in the material evidence, it is clear

accounting until the early nineteenth century, see W. WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1896; reprint Graz, 1958), pp. 51-89. A wax tablet was in use in the Rouen fish market until the late nineteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 89).

²⁷ V.L. YANIN, "The Archeology of Novgorod", *Scientific American*, February 1990, pp. 84-91 at p. 86.

²⁸ M.J. THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City directed by A.V. Artsikhovskiy and B.A. Kolchin* (London, 1967), p. XVI.

²⁹ T. CAPELLE, "Parallelüberlieferung, Tradition und Quellenlücke im ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Fundgut: Bemerkungen zum Holz als Werkstoff", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980), pp. 410-422.

³⁰ On wax tablets, see WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen*, pp. 51-89; B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, tr. D. Ó CRÓININ and D. GANZ (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 13-14; *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne (Actes du colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Institut de France, 10-11 October 1990)*, ed. É. LALOU (Turnhout, 1993: *Bibliologia: Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia* 12); R.H. and M.A. ROUSE, "The vocabulary of wax tablets", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1990), pp. 12-19; HOFFMANN, "Mittelalterliche Brieftechnik", p. 148.

that wax tablets were commonplace and continuously in use for drafts, accounts and ephemeral messages. But the wax tablets of the early medieval world have rarely been preserved. I know of no spectacular examples of early medieval letters found in the ground.³¹ However, finds from ancient times and the central middle ages can show how transforming such discoveries can be, and perhaps cast some light on the nature of the lost letters of the early medieval world.

Vindolanda (ca. 100 AD)

The wooden writing tablets recovered at the excavation of the Roman fort at Vindolanda (near modern Corbridge) illustrate the way a discovery of a previously unknown and highly perishable category of evidence can revolutionize received views of literacy and communication in an apparently well-documented and thoroughly studied past society. Before the tablets came to light, 170 original latin letters were known from before 300 A.D.;³² after the publication of the writing tablets, 144 whole letters had been added to this corpus plus 156 fragmentary texts.³³ Evidence for ancient Latin letters in their original format had thereby almost tripled and wood had outstripped papyrus and ostraka (potsherds) as the best attested medium. The total number of tablets and fragments recovered is now close to 2000.³⁴ Before the discovery, the notion that officers and low-ranking members of Batavian and Tungrian cohorts stationed in Northern Britain might be able to engage in long-distance correspondence would have been dismissed as unlikely.³⁵ Now it is documented. Moreover, because incoming letters from distant places were recovered alongside sender's copies, the tablet letters show empire-wide conventions prevailing for the epistolary register preserved on the tablets.

The tablets themselves are very thin slivers of wood, comparable in size to our postcards: ca. 6-8 inches long and 2.5-3 inches wide. They are exceedingly thin (0.04-0.08, or thinner) and were suitable for writing on with regular ink and a metal nibbed pen. Prior to the discovery, a more substantial sort of wooden tablet

³¹ On a single letter on slate, see below, p. 92. The Springmount bog tablets from Ireland contain psalm-verses, not a letter.

³² P. CUGUSI, *Corpus epistularum latinarum papyris, tabulis, ostracis seruatarum* (Florence, 1992).

³³ BOWMAN and THOMAS, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets*, p. 8.

³⁴ A.K. BOWMAN, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its People* (London, 1994), p. 15.

³⁵ Despite Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* II.19, on the need for skill in short-hand and computation among army recruits (See tr. N.P. MILNER, *Vegetius, Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993: *Translated Texts for Historians* 16), pp. 51-52).

was known (wax- or stylus tablets, made of thicker pieces of wood), but tablets of the type discovered at Vindolanda were scarcely documented in literary texts. Two references established that such wood-sliver tablets were everyday objects.³⁶ The Vindolanda finds were deliberately discarded, perhaps in connection with rebuilding of the fort, or troop transfers; the find location cannot be equated with the fort's official record office.³⁷ The wood slivers owe their preservation to moist anaerobic soil conditions (which also ensured that a good deal of footwear and even a sock have survived).³⁸ Tablets were apparently deliberately discarded along with other refuse in a spot near the commanding officer's residence. There are indications that the refuse was set alight and it has been surmised that dumping occurred in connection with phases of rebuilding and departure and reoccupation of the fort.

Since the finds at Vindolanda alerted excavators to the appearance and importance of wooden stilus tablets, additional examples have been identified at other sites in Britain. It is now beyond doubt that such tablets were widely available and in everyday use. Outside the Northern European tree-growing area, other materials have been found which attest similar personal and bureaucratic literacy in the Roman army: papyri from Dura-Europus (apparently discarded in the mid-third century as a consequence of Syrian takeover) and ostraka from Bu Njem in Libya.³⁹

The Vindolanda texts include records of army bureaucracy, but also personal letters, a list of tableware, even a birthday invitation. The non-epistolary texts illuminate the fundamental importance of literacy to the effective functioning of the Roman army on a remote provincial frontier. The letters demonstrate that literacy came with the army and did not depend on the literacy of the environs; indeed it was crucial to Romanization. The officers of Batavian origin, perhaps only recently enfranchised,⁴⁰ can be shown to be latinate and literate. Auden's evocation of "Fall of Rome" could apply to Ultima Thule as well as the Empire's capital.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16, citing Herodian and Cassius Dio. Wax tablets, in contrast, are fairly abundantly attested in Roman literature.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157, plate 1. For a concise account of the preservation conditions, see P. BAHN, "Letters from a Roman Garrison", *Archaeology* 45 (1992), pp. 61-65, at p. 63.

³⁹ BOWMAN, *Life and Letters*, p. 16; R. MARICHAL, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem, Libya Antiqua*, Suppl. 9 (Tripoli, 1992); C.B. WELLES a.o., *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Final Report V, part 1: The Parchments and Papyri* (New Haven, 1959).

⁴⁰ BOWMAN, *Life and Letters*, p. 56.

Caesar's double-bed is warm
 As an unimportant clerk
 Writes I DO NOT LIKE MY WORK
 On a pink official form.⁴¹

In the Roman army camps from Syria to remote northern Britain, practical tasks and personal relationships alike entailed extensive reliance on pragmatic literacy. For this the use of locally available perishable material was apparently standard practice. The documents generated and letters received were eventually deliberately discarded. Their preservation and eventual discovery depends on climatic and environmental factors and luck.

Bergen Rúnakefli (s. XII^{ex}–s. XIV^{ex})

Bergen harbour on the west coast of Norway is one of the rainiest cities in the world and therefore a favourable site for the preservation of organic material. Excavations near the old harbour site (Bryggen) were possible after a fire in 1955. Within a few days in 1957, the discovery of several "rune-sticks" almost doubled the tally of runic inscriptions from the area; since then over 650 further runic inscriptions have been discovered, including letters, tally sticks, practice alphabets, indications of ownership, charms, and brief notes of what has been characterized as sheer pornography and obscenity.⁴² Although runic inscriptions have been

⁴¹ W.H. AUDEN, "The Fall of Rome", in: ID, *W.H. Auden: A Selection by the Author* (Harmondsworth, 1958), p. 138.

⁴² A. LIESTØL, "Correspondence in Runes", *Medieval Scandinavia* 1 (1968), pp. 17-27 (550 inscriptions up to 1968); the official publication of the Bergen Runesticks is: *Norges Innskifter med de Yngre Runer*, ed. J.E. KNIRK, vol. 6, part 1: *Bryggen i Bergen* ed. I.S. JOHNSEN (Oslo, 1990: *Norsk Historisk Kjeldskrift-Institut*). See K.F. SEIM, "A Review of the Runic Material", in: *The Bryggen Papers, Supplementary Series*, No. 2 (Bergen, 1988), pp. 10-23; *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium in Runes and Runic Inscriptions, Grindaheim, Norway, 8-12 August 1990*, ed. J.E. KNIRK (Uppsala, 1994: *Runrön: Runologiska bidrag för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet* 9) (Uppsala, 1994) (not primarily concerned with Bergen); *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur, Nio föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1992*, ed. I. LINDELL (Stockholm, 1994: *Sällskapet, Runica et Mediaevalia, Opuscula* 2) (Stockholm, 1994); see especially J.E. KNIRK, "Learning to write with runes in medieval Norway", *ibid.*, pp. 169-212; *Runor och ABC: Elva föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1995*, ed. S. NYSTROM (Stockholm, 1996: *Runica et Mediaevalia: Opuscula* 4); T. SPURKLAND, "Speech and writing in medieval Bergen", in: *Historisk Språkvitenskap/Historical Linguistics*, ed. E.H. JAHR and O. LORENTZ (Oslo, 1993: *Studier i Norsk Språkvitenskap/Studies in Norwegian Linguistics*), pp. 405 ff. For an overview of questions about literacy and digloss-and digraphia, see: *Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt*

found on a variety of materials including wood, stone, horn, bone, leather and pottery, small specially-cut wooden sticks seem to have been a standard format for runic notes and messages (hence the term rune-stick). It seems that the Bryggen rune sticks were variously accidentally lost or deliberately discarded at the harbour site after they were no longer relevant.⁴³ Six known datable medieval fires in Bergen left deposits which facilitate both relative and absolute dating of the finds.

It is sobering to realize how nearly this extraordinary corpus of material escaped notice. An eye-witness commented: "there were... more or less recognizable objects in abundance and we did not feel obliged to investigate the masses of wood-chips particularly closely..."⁴⁴ Discounting those inscriptions which are indecipherable for various reasons (ca. 1/3), the material includes Old Norse texts (as one would expect), but also Latin and even a bit of Greek transliterated into runes.⁴⁵ The texts reflect the activities of a busy commercial centre. Personal notes occur alongside business notes and even alphabets, charms and prayers and Latin poetry transliterated into runes. It has been doubted whether runic literacy was widespread, but the brevity, secrecy and informality of some of the messages can be taken to suggest that people were able to write for themselves. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that the various obscene and informal tavern-messages required the mediation of professional readers and writers. The entire corpus has not yet been printed and still fewer runic messages have been translated; transcriptions and translation remain unclear in many cases.

A few sample messages can give an impression of the tenor of runic correspondence:

Eindriði, you must let me have these: two measures and three casks, and otherwise (if you cannot?) sixteen measures. And Eindriði, you shall take that corn which Bergthorð owes me. No less than sixteen measures must you take; if not then take nothing. And I ask my father if he will let me have three casks.⁴⁶

To Hafgrímur, his partner, Thorir Fagr sends God's and his own greetings, and true partnership and friendship. Things are bad with me, partner, I did not get the beer, nor the fish. I want you to know this, and ask you not to press me...⁴⁷

perspektiv, ed. P. ÅSTRÖM (Stockholm, 1993: *Meddelanden från institutionen för nordiska språk* 39). Websites listing the inscriptions and recent discoveries can be consulted at: <http://gonzo.hd.uib.no/NCCH-docs/runes.html> and at <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakn/runenews/biblio.htm>

⁴³ For an example of a letter-stick sharpened to serve some other use, see LIESTØL, "Correspondence in runes", p. 25.

⁴⁴ SEIM, "A review of the runic material", p. 10.

⁴⁵ For the Latin inscriptions, see *The Bryggen Papers, Supplementary Series* No. 2, pp. 24-65.

⁴⁶ LIESTØL, "Correspondence in runes", p. 23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

I would ask you this, that you leave your party. Cut a letter in runes to Olafr Hettusveinn's sister. She is in the convent in Bergen. Ask her and your kin for advice when you come to terms. You, surely are less stubborn than the Earl.
My dear, kiss me.⁴⁸

They are shacking up together, Clumsy (?)/Harelipped(?)—Kári and Viljálmr's wife...⁴⁹

At least one letter shows some traces of awareness of Latin epistolary formulae,⁵⁰ but there is insufficient internal and external evidence to allow any firm conclusions about whether rune carving was taught in a school, in the family, or in informal social settings and where and how writers gained the knowledge necessary to draft their rudimentary memoranda and missives.⁵¹ Practice alphabets show only that even pen-knife and wood literacy required basic instruction, practice and coordination.

The Bryggen runesticks allow one to imagine the physical format of the small number of allusions to written messages in the sagas,⁵² but on the basis of the saga-evidence alone it might have seemed optimistic to predict the existence of the Bergen runesticks.⁵³ (In this connection it is instructive to remember how meagre the classical Latin literary evidence for the existence of non-wax wooden tablets such as those found at Vindolanda was: a reminder that the most common ephemeral everyday objects and technologies may escape notice in written sources). The origins and original purpose of the runic alphabet are hotly debated.⁵⁴ But most specialists agree that the alphabet or "futhark" arose in the context of contacts with Romania, and that letter forms were designed to be cut onto wood. Hence the vertical strokes are perpendicular to the grain, thus clearly visible, and there are no horizontal-cross strokes which would disappear into the pattern of the wood-grain. Subsequent adaptations of the runic alphabet remain true to these principles. Yet the poor preservation of wood and organic materials in most archaeological con-

⁴⁸ KNIRK, "Learning to write with runes", p. 190 (inscription B 17).

⁴⁹ KNIRK, "Learning to write with runes", p. 205 (A 35).

⁵⁰ LIESTØL, "Correspondence in runes", p. 25.

⁵¹ But see KNIRK, "Learning to write with runes".

⁵² LIESTØL, "Correspondence in runes", pp. 17-18.

⁵³ But on the strong evidence for Viking literacy, see I. LARSSON and B. SODERBERG, "Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt perspektiv: ett forskningsprogram", in: *Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt perspektiv*, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁴ R.I. PAGE, *Runes* (London, 1987), pp. 6-8; H. WILLIAMS, "The Romans and the Runes—Uses of Writing in Germania", in: *Runor och ABC: Elva föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1995*, ed. S. NYSTROM (Stockholm, 1996: *Runica et Mediaevalia: Opuscula 4*), pp. 177-192 at pp. 177-181; contrast D.H. GREEN, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 254.

texts has meant that the earliest extant runic monuments are on more durable substances rather than on wood. It is a striking fact that the Bergen finds outnumber the entire previously known corpus of runic inscriptions from medieval Norway.

Rune-sticks have subsequently been found at other urban sites including Trondheim, Oslo and Tønsberg, though in far smaller quantities.⁵⁵ It is not clear whether the astonishing amount of evidence for literacy and written communication recovered at Bergen reflects the exceptional circumstances of a port and market city, the favourable wet anaerobic soil conditions or the special opportunity afforded by the fire of 1955 to dig in an urban area of exceptional continuity of use and occupation. As a whole however the rune sticks and runic graffiti seem to point to widespread use of written communication across the social hierarchy. The quantity of finds seems to taper off at the end of the fourteenth century, but the significance of this decline is unclear. Runes may have begun to fall into disuse, another more perishable writing support may have replaced wood or else the gradual replacement of the Norwegian population of Bryggen with non-rune-using Germans may have played a role.⁵⁶

Runes in England

Runes were apparently known throughout the Germanic world from perhaps the first centuries A.D. or even earlier. While the abundance of evidence from Bryggen in the central Middle Ages seems to reflect the special role vernacular runic literacy in a busy urban and commercial environment,⁵⁷ it is tantalizing to consider whether rune-sticks might have been known and used earlier in other Germanic societies. As we have seen, wherever it originated, it is clear that the runic alphabet was designed for carving on wood; indeed, the common Germanic vocabulary of literacy points either to the actual use of wood as a writing support or to familiarity with Roman writing on wood.⁵⁸ It has been assumed that this vocabulary developed through contact with Romania and Christianity, and specifi-

⁵⁵ SEIM, "A review of the runic material", pp. 10-11. One should distinguish Viking age runic inscriptions from medieval inscriptions; for an over view of Scandinavian rune finds by type and period, see LARSSON and SODERBERG, "Nordisk medeltidsliteracy", pp. 32-35.

⁵⁶ LIESTØL, "Correspondence in runes", p. 27.

⁵⁷ On runic literacy and commerce, see J.R. HAGLAND, " 'Torkjel myntästare sänder peppar': Köpenskap och Handel", in: *Runmärkt: Från brev till klotter: Runorna under medeltiden*, ed. S. BENNETH a.o. (Stockholm, 1994), pp. 83-90.

⁵⁸ GREEN, *Language and History*, pp. 254-270.

cally, through observation of the use of wooden writing tablets, whether wax tablets or thin wooden leaves. Tantalizing evidence from two Old English poems seems to point to some knowledge of the use of wood and runes as a medium for communication. Old English Riddle 60 in the *Exeter book* has been interpreted as describing a reed-pen, a gospel book, a beech tree (OE *boc* means book as well as beech-tree), but rune stick is also a plausible answer, indeed, one might argue, the only plausible answer, since the description of writing with the point of a knife cannot refer either to the use of ink or to the use of a stylus on a wax tablet.⁵⁹ The narrator of the riddle describes how he used to stand alone by the seashore, "little I imagined that early or late I should ever speak, mouthless, across the mead-bench, and communicate words. It is something of wonder, perplexing to the mind of him who knows nothing of such, how the point of a knife and the right hand, a man's ingenuity and point together, deliberately pricked me so that I should confidently declare a message in the presence of us two alone, so that no more people might gossip our converse farther afield".⁶⁰

Riddle 60 is immediately followed in the unique manuscript which preserves it by an even more enigmatic text known as "the Husband's Message", a poem narrated by the support of the message. The message alludes to an ancient pact, a feud, an expelled lord, and a summons to a spouse to return across the sea to a lord. "Now in privacy I will tell you... Now I have come here in a ship and now you shall know how you may think in your mind of my lord's heartfelt love... See, he that inscribed this wood instructed me to beseech you that you, the jewel-spangled, yourself recall into mind the spoken vows which you two often voiced in earlier days... Now he has bidden me gladly inform you that you should ply the ocean..."⁶¹ In contrast to the preceding riddle, where clues that a written message is involved are obvious, one might assume that the speaker here is a messenger conveying oral summons and greetings. But the last few lines of the poem include runes and depend on the appearance of the runes and the reader's knowledge of their names: "I conjoin S (sun) together with R (road) (sun-road, heaven) and EA (earth) and W (joy) and M (man) to declare on oath that he would fulfil by his living self, the pledge and the covenant of friendship which in former days you two often voiced".⁶²

⁵⁹ See G.P. KRAPP and E. VAN KIRK DOBBIE, *The Exeter Book* (New York, 1966: *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records: A Collective Edition* 3), pp. 225-227 (hereafter ASPR 3) and *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, tr. S.A.J. BRADLEY (London, 1982), pp. 397-398.

⁶⁰ Riddle 60, ASPR 3, p. 225; *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 398.

⁶¹ ASPR 3, pp. 225-227, lines 1-228; *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, pp. 399-400; on alternative interpretations for the runes, see ASPR 3, p. 364.

⁶² ASPR 3, p. 227, lines 49-53; *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 400.

No rune-sticks have yet been recovered from an Old English site. However, previously unknown runes have been remarked on a bone writing tablet, both on the rim and in the recessed area where the wax would have been; preliminary investigations suggest the runes in the wax area appear because they were inadvertently scratched through the wax, and were perhaps pen trials.⁶³ Much Old English evidence for knowledge of runes comes from manuscripts made on the continent in Anglo-Saxon mission circles. It has sometimes been assumed that the manuscript evidence attests to antiquarian interest, especially when runic alphabets occur alongside other alphabets.⁶⁴ Yet the runic inscriptions on objects such as the monumental eighth-century Ruthwell cross or the small Franks casket suggest that runes were familiar, not esoteric: those who commissioned or designed the objects expected them to be comprehensible to some audience. It is interesting to note that the Ruthwell cross inscription is in the first person (like the Old English riddles, but also like medieval letters); it narrates the story of Christ's crucifixion from the point of view of the cross. Was the stone cross a kind of monumental version of a wooden rune-stick bearing a message, like the message of salvation in the poem "The Husband's message"? A tantalizing clue that runes may have been associated particularly with correspondence comes from the Boniface letter collection, where the dorse of some letters contain monograms and designs which include runes and Greek letters.⁶⁵ The combined evidence of the vocabulary of writing, two Old English poems and the use of runes in the Boniface correspondence can be interpreted to suggest that in the British Isles runesticks could have been familiar as a medium for written communication, rather than merely as an epigraphic writing system.⁶⁶ This hypothesis is not so much an argument from silence as an

⁶³ R.I. PAGE, "Runes in East Anglia", in: *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, pp. 105-118, at p. 111.

⁶⁴ R. DEROLEZ, *Runica manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brugge, 1954: *Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren* 118); while this must be true for Byrhtferth in the eleventh-century, it is less likely for the eighth.

⁶⁵ It is remarkable and almost unique that a copyist preserved not only the dorsal addresses of letters in the Boniface collection, but also sketched the marks of the ties. This information needs to be correlated with selection by sender and receiver since the Boniface collections are thought to derive from Boniface's own drafts. Ed. TANGI, *Die Briefe des Bonifatius*, No. 119, p. 255, Eanwulf to Lul; No. 120, p. 256, Eanwulf to Charlemagne. Eanwulf is otherwise unknown, but is thought to have been a Northumbrian abbot and his letters, including the one to Charlemagne are thought to have been preserved by receiver-transmission; Lul apparently saved or recopied the letter to Charlemagne (see TANGI, p. 256 n. 1, and on the letters, GARRISON, "Letters to a king", p. 320 n. 61).

⁶⁶ On the possibility of rune-sticks in England, see S. KELLY, "Anglo-Saxon lay Society and the Written Word", in: *The Uses of Literacy*, pp. 36-62 at p. 37: on runic literacy in England more generally, see Page, "Runes in East Anglia", and C.E. FELL, "Anglo-Saxon England: A Three Script Community?", in: *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runes and Runic*

extrapolation from hints. And yet, because the Anglo-Saxons assimilated Christianity, Latin literacy, and scriptorial practices (including the use of parchment) far sooner than the residents of medieval Scandinavia, one might be sceptical about the persistence in the British Isles of runic literacy and the use of rune-stick letters among Anglo-Saxons (rather than, say, among Scandinavians in the Danelaw). One thing is certain: if archaeologists ever do manage to dig up some rune-sticks in England, the messages will surely be qualitatively very different from the known medieval Latin letters from the British Isles. The circumstances of a late medieval harbour town such as Bergen naturally encouraged the use of writing and perhaps even made knowledge of runic literacy necessary for business. Yet the technology used (runic alphabet and wood-carving) had been available in Northern Europe for centuries. Moreover, the knowledge of these writing practices had been transmitted even when the demands of harbour business had not made runic literacy a practical necessity. One might well wonder if rune-sticks had also been also in use in the busy Scandinavian trade centre of medieval Jorvik, or perhaps even earlier, in Northumbrian York.

Novgorod

At Novgorod, as at Vindolanda and Bergen, opinions about the cultural level and literacy of a population hitherto considered scarcely literate were revolutionized at a stroke with the discovery of a substantial corpus of new evidence. In this case, it was hundreds of letters incised on birch bark in majuscule non-cursive cyrillic letters which transformed scholarly views of medieval Novgorod.⁶⁷ As at

Inscriptions, pp. 119-137.

⁶⁷ For an overview of medieval Novgorod, see A. POPPE, "Novgorod", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6 (Munich, 1993), cols. 1306-1311; for a brief introduction to the excavation, YANIN, "The Archaeology of Novgorod", pp. 84-91. For an early and non-Russian language extensive scholarly introduction to the birch-bark letters, see W. VODOFF, "Les Documents sur écorce de bouleau de Novgorod", *Journal des Savants* (1966), pp. 193-233 (but overestimating the age of the documents); followed by W. VODOFF, "Les documents sur écorce de bouleau de Novgorod: Découvertes et travaux récents", *Journal des Savants* (1981), pp. 229-281. I know of no translation of any substantial portion of the corpus into any Western European language, but most articles offer translations of at least a handful of texts. For a selection, see R. FACCANI, "Messaggi dall'antica Novgorod", *Annali della facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari* 21 (1982), pp. 69-84; ID., "Gramoty novgorodiane su corteccia di betulla. I (secoli XI-XII)", *ibid.* 26 (1987), pp. 117-136. and ID., "Gramoty Novgorodiane su corteccia di betulla. II (secoli XI-XII)", *ibid.* 27 (1988), pp. 139-159. For a broad overview of the context of the *beresty*, see S. FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation in early medieval Russia", *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 1-38. The edition of the texts is

Vindolanda and Bergen, too, exceptionally wet conditions were favourable for the preservation of organic matter. Thus not only the birch-bark letters, but also shoes, socks, mittens, rope, wool, toys, furniture, and layer upon layer of the city's corduroy sidewalks, relaid through the centuries, have been preserved. The birch-bark texts (*beresty*) were incised onto pieces of boiled birch bark,⁶⁸ a cheap, locally available substance that was also used for all sorts of household objects. (Eventually ink writing instruments began to take their place alongside the stylus: unfortunately the ink usually disappeared, whereas incised letters, whether on rune sticks or birch bark, can remain visible, if not easily legible, for centuries). The letters are terse, brief and direct. It is clear that they were deliberately discarded. Some were intentionally damaged or had the names cut off to cancel their validity.

As at Bergen, the importance of the discovery was recognized immediately. "The whole basis of the subject changed... in 1951 when the first birch-bark documents were discovered. Written documents were... calculated to impress the authorities who controlled the finances of the excavation, and so the discovery made it possible to enlarge the scale of the work. Ostensibly the object of the excavation in the early years was to find more birch-bark documents..."⁶⁹ Since then, hundreds of letters written on birch bark (*beresta*, *beresty*, pl. or *berestjanaja gramota*, *berestjanye gramoty*, pl.) have to come to light. Seven hundred and ten documents have published from Novgorod and a small number from other sites including Moscow, Smolensk and Staraja Russa have also been edited; about two hundred texts await publication. Excavations in Novgorod are still under way and new birch-barks continue to come to light.⁷⁰

The majority of the texts are in Old Russian in a local Novgorod dialect, rather than Old Church Slavonic, although among the birch-barks from various

Novgorodskiye gramoty na beryoste, 1- (Moscow, 1953-), 9 volumes so far, with various editors including A.V. ARTSIKHOVSKY, V.L. YANIN and A.A. ZALIZNJAK.

⁶⁸ V.L. JANIN, "Novgorods näverbrev" in: *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur*, pp. 121-139, at pp. 121-123.

⁶⁹ THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. xi.

⁷⁰ W. VERMEER, "Towards a thousand birchbark letters", [a review of the ninth volume of the birchbark texts] *Russian Linguistics* 19 (1995), pp. 109-123 at p. 109: 710 from Novgorod and a total of 53 from seven other locations; subsequently discovered and still unpublished letters bring the total to 900. It is important to note that only about 20% of the texts are complete; of those that remain, half are fragmentary but useful, and another half, exceedingly small and fragmentary. For details of the printed editions of the texts from other sites (to 1985), see FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation", p. 6, n. 16.

sites, there are isolated examples of Latin,⁷¹ German, Greek,⁷² Finnish,⁷³ and even a runic alphabet,⁷⁴ reflecting trade-contacts and the activities of foreign merchants stationed in Novgorod. Thus with the discoveries, the entire corpus of Old Russian exploded in size. The majority of the letters were written by lay-people, many, by women; most concern business transactions and administration of distant estates—money and land⁷⁵—but disputes, a marriage proposal and even a child's drawings are represented in the corpus. Letters written by clerics are linguistically distinct and usually immediately recognizable from the influence or use of Old Church Slavonic; letters by clerics are also characterized by less punctuation. It seems clear that the laity, including women, could read and write for themselves. Although palaeographical analysis can sometimes show that one writer inscribed letters for others, as with the Bergen rune-sticks, the messages are often so brief and informal that it would be hard to imagine that they would have been written or sent if professional scribes or readers were necessary.⁷⁶ Despite their brevity and directness (the longest letter (N531) is 166 words)⁷⁷ the formulation of the letters seems to point to some very limited regular form of instruction in both writing and epistolar conventions for lay people.⁷⁸ Where and how this training occurred is

⁷¹ No. 488, a Latin booklet found near the "Gothic house", the place of Hanse and Scandinavian traders.

⁷² No. 552.

⁷³ On the birch-bark letters relating to Novgorod or Swedish activity in the Finnish speaking area of Karelia, see R. HOLTHOFER, "Birch-bark documents from Novgorod relating to Finland and Scandinavia", in: *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance): Actes du Colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie tenu à Upsal 20-22 avril 1979*, ed. R. ZEITLER (Stockholm, 1981: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Figura, Nova series* 19), pp. 161-167. For an analysis of some of the linguistic idiosyncrasies of some birch-bark texts, see W. VERMEER, "Evmfim'ja, Maskim and others: Critical notes on Novgorod birchbark documents", in: *Studies in Russian Linguistics*, ed. A.A. BARENTSEN a.o. (Amsterdam, 1992: *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 17) pp. 383-434.

⁷⁴ Document No. 11 from Smolensk. Runic alphabets on other (non-birch-bark) material have been found in Novgorod.

⁷⁵ On the contrast between the importance of money in the early letters and land later, see FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation", p. 14.

⁷⁶ On the lack of evidence for scribes for the early letters, see FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation", p. 9.

⁷⁷ See A. LUBOŬTSKY and W. VERMEER, "Observations on the longest birchbark letter (Novgorod 531)", *Russian Linguistics* 22 (1998), pp. 143-164, and for an illustration and partial English translation. YANIN, "The Archaeology of Novgorod", p. 90.

⁷⁸ On a wooden tablet with an alphabet and holes for wall-mounting, presumably for use in learning to read and write, see THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. 56 and YANIN, "The Archaeology of Novgorod", p. 89; for young Onfim's school exercise book, his lists of syllables and his drawings, see VODOFF, "Les Documents sur écorce de bouleau de Novgorod", (1966), p. 214 and YANIN, *ibid.*

unknown, but the fact that the local Novgorod dialect was used rather than Old Church Slavonic points to educational arrangements separate from clerical education, even if administered by clerics.⁷⁹

The find circumstances of the Novgorod beresty would make them the envy of scholars in many fields if they were only better known. In contrast to the evidence at Bergen and Vindolanda, the Novgorod letters can be stratigraphically dated quite precisely by their position between the layers of the corduroy sidewalks (which were replaced at regular intervals) and have provided an excellent sequence for dendrochronological dating.⁸⁰ The letters were found on strata ranging in date from the eleventh to the fifteenth century and can be fairly precisely dated by dendrochronological dates for the side-walk layers.⁸¹ Besides this (relative) chronological precision, many of the letters seem to have been relatively undisturbed and to have remained where they were discarded, sometimes on the property of the persons concerned. The corpus can also offer exceptional insights into social networks. There are a number of blocks of letters sent by the same person; letters by individuals referred to in other letters have been found, as have letters by or concerned with individuals known from other sources.⁸² A sample of the texts of a few beresty illustrates the their terse and direct style and mundane concerns:

Mikhail makes obeisance to his lord Timothy. The ground is prepared and we must sow. Come, sir, for everyone is ready but we cannot have rye without your command.⁸³

Order from Grigory to Domna and Repekh. Get the log cabin and outhouse ready and send Nedan into Luga to Ilin today.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ D. WORTH demonstrated a distinct shift in the formulation of the letters after the discontinuities and hardships of the mid-thirteenth-century (Mongols, famine, plague): see his "Incipits in the Novgorod birchbark letters", in: *Semiosis: Semiotics and the History of Culture In honorem Georgii Lotman* (Michigan, 1984; *Michigan Slavic Contributions* 10), pp. 320-332, and ID., "The birchbark letters in time and space", in: *Festschrift L'ubomir Āuroviĉ zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1990; *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 25-26), pp. 439-450.

⁸⁰ Twenty eight sidewalk layers were laid between 953 and 1462; on the street system and the dates, see "Stratigraphy of the streets, chronology and the finds" (after B.A. KOLCHIN) and "Dendrochronology" (after B.A. KOLCHIN), in: THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, pp. 13-22 and 23-34.

⁸¹ Disturbingly, misinterpretation of the original field notes has sometimes led to incorrect dating of the texts in the published edition; scholars are discovering and rectifying some of these errors. One should also be aware that preliminary studies of the letters overestimated the age of the earliest texts. I thank Willem Vermeer for information about these points.

⁸² VERMEER, "Towards a Thousand", p. 188.

⁸³ THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. 58; 1409-1422 AD.

⁸⁴ THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. 60; undated. Willem Vermeer suggests that what is

To lords Adrian Mikhailovich and Nikita Mikhailovich and our mistress Nastasya, wife of Mikhailov, the peasants of Izboisch make this petition. Here, sir in your district magistrates have appeared in Gorodno and they are false magistrates, who make false judgments. They have made irregular transfers of your property. The magistrate's clerk has made false entries, which he has put his seal to. And they have made judgments in Parfa. And we your serfs beg you, our lord, for redress.⁸⁵

From Nikita to Ulyanitsa. Marry me. I want you and you me. And as witness will be Ignato...⁸⁶

Sell the house and come to Smolensk or Kiev; bread is cheap; if you cannot come, write to me about your health.⁸⁷

Other Finds and Other Media

Moving farther afield from the wet, Northern European tree-growing latitudes, other evidence for letters preserved by accident or good luck reinforces the impression that the recopied medieval Latin letter collections preserved on parchment are indeed the tip of an iceberg, and a highly atypical sample of pre-modern written communication. For example, texts scratched into slate have been found from early medieval Spain, from early and high medieval Ireland and from thirteenth century Laon.⁸⁸ Where it is readily available, slate has the advantage of requiring almost no preparation and being easy to scratch. The Spanish material includes a letter, but also a charm and some trade documents, precisely the quotidian concerns of lay people that are poorly represented in the parchment letter-collections of the period.⁸⁹ It is particularly interesting that the Spanish slates are from an area in Northern Spain roughly between Avila and Salamanca, a rural area, indicating that towns and commerce, though strongly correlated with medieval lay-literacy, are not a prerequisite for it. These Spanish slates also seem to point to some conti-

meant is probably "into Luga before Saint Il'ja's day".

⁸⁵ THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. 62, 1422-1446 AD.

⁸⁶ THOMPSON, *Novgorod the Great*, p. 63, 1268-1299 AD.

⁸⁷ FRANKLIN, "Literacy and documentation", p. 7.

⁸⁸ BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 15-16.

⁸⁹ For a recent exhaustive edition of the Visigothic slates, see: I. VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO, *Las Pizarras Visigodas* (Murcia, 1989: *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 6) (unavailable in the Netherlands). I have consulted M. GÓMEZ-MORENO, "Documentación goda en pizarra", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 34 (1954), pp. 25-58, where the slate letter, item VI, is at pp. 43-45, and M.C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, "Los documentos hispano-visigóticos sobre pizarra", *Studi Medievali* 3rd series 7 (1966), pp. 75-107. Gómez-Moreno expressed surprise at the use of slate for documents, but it is salutary to remember that slate and chalk have been used for school-exercises even through most of this century.

nulty in lay education through the Visigothic period, even in a rural area. Like the Vindolanda tablets, they are written across the long side of the stones, perhaps a clue to the survival of an Empire-wide convention. Whereas the diverse find-sites of the slates seem to show that they were haphazardly discarded, some private documents written on wood from fifth-century Vandal Africa survive because they were stowed in a pottery jar in a wall.⁹⁰ Still earlier, at Masada, it seems that Roman soldiers stuffed their own Latin papyri, Greek papyri and Hebrew scrolls into a room inside one of the casements of the wall. This took place after the fall of Masada and perhaps in connection with sorting booty; the deposit is neither a rubbish pile nor an official archive.⁹¹ The discovery yielded insights into the role of literacy in the administration of the Roman army similar to those gained at Vindolanda; it also illuminated the coexistence of literacy in several languages and the use of a range of media. Local Jews and soldiers in the Roman army used primarily papyrus and ostraka as writing materials, with Jewish writers using primarily Greek on papyrus and mainly Hebrew and Aramaic on ostraka and Romans, the Latin language and script on all materials.⁹² Prior to this discovery however, parchment had seemed to be the most important writing surface (though for literary rather than pragmatic or administrative texts) in first-century Palestine.⁹³ Perhaps the most spectacular cache of documents of all, however, is the one preserved in the Cairo Genizah. Jews did not throw away any sacred writings, but buried them or deposited them in Genizas. In Cairo, there was a Geniza attached to a synagogue where non-religious texts of all kinds came to be preserved for reasons unknown; this extraordinary material includes including over a thousand secular business letters.⁹⁴

The foregoing examples of letters discarded (or deposited) and preserved by good luck in their original form show how tenaciously past societies clung to the skill of writing, even in times and places where the materials available and the provisions for education are hardly favourable. The examples from Novgorod and Bergen seem to indicate that in certain cultures, a rudimentary knowledge of writ-

⁹⁰ C. COURTOIS a.o., *Tablettes Albertini: Actes privés de l'époque vandale (fin du V^e siècle)* (Paris, 1952). The tablets are private legal acts, not letters.

⁹¹ See: *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports: The Latin and Greek Documents*, ed. H.M. COTTON and J. GEIGER, with a contribution by J.D. THOMAS (Jerusalem, 1989), p. 1 and pp. 17-19; p. 13 on the various find locations of the ostraka.

⁹² *Masada II*, p. 113, p. 1.

⁹³ *Masada II*, p. 2.

⁹⁴ S.D. GOITEIN, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic with Introductions and Notes* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 5-6. For a survey and additional literature, see S. MENACHE, "Communication in the Jewish diaspora: A survey", in: *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-Modern World*, ed. S. MENACHE (Leiden, 1996), pp. 15-58.

ing could be acquired without an ecclesiastically sponsored educational system, while an anecdote about King Alfred points to some family context for the acquisition of vernacular literacy in ninth-century Wessex.⁹⁵ Are we justified in assuming that some appreciable quantity of simple correspondence occurred among lay people and clergy in the early medieval West? The foregoing examples cannot demonstrate that was the case, but another look at two lacunae in the evidence for communication in Latin in Carolingian Europe may suggest, once again, that the burden of proof is on the oralists, on those who deny that writing was used for some everyday affairs, in a world already familiar with literacy. Two cases where the argument from analogy can suggest a more positive interpretation of extant evidence are letters concerning estate-management and love letters.

Estate Management

Many Carolingian abbots were in charge of extensive and far-flung estates.⁹⁶ Administration and record keeping for such properties can be studied in various documents, including the polyptichs.⁹⁷ But alongside such records, it is clear that a large amount of long-distance communication as well as record-keeping would have been necessary. Letters concerning these activities however are rare, although they must once have been exceedingly numerous.⁹⁸ Scattered examples do survive however. Thus Einhard wrote letters to monks or deputies about fatten-

⁹⁵ The story of King Alfred's mother's promise of a book of English poetry as a reward to whichever of her sons could learn it the fastest: see *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources*, tr. S.D. KEYNES and M. LAPIDGE (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 75.

⁹⁶ See e.g. W. STORMER, "Zur Frage der Funktionen des kirchlichen Fernbesitzes im Gebiet der Ostalpen vom 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert", in: *Die Transalpinen Verbindungen der Bayern, Alemannen und Franken bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. BEUMANN and W. SCHRÖDER (Sigmaringen, 1987: *Nationes* 6), pp. 379-403.

⁹⁷ L. KUCHENBUCH, "Ordnungsverhalten im grundherrlichen Schriftgut vom 9. zum 12. Jahrhundert", in: *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. FRIED (Munich, 1997), pp. 175-268.

⁹⁸ Collections where such memoranda are represented include the letters of Einhard, Lupus of Ferrières and Frothar of Toul. For editions, see: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, ed. E. DÜMMER, K. HAMPE a.o. (Hannover, 1898-1899: *MGH Epp* 5), pp. 105-145 (Einhard's letters, ed. K. HAMPE) and pp. 275-298 (Frothar's letters, ed. K. HAMPE), and *Loup de Ferrières, Correspondance*, 2 vols., ed. and tr. L. LEVILLAIN (Paris, 1927-1935: *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*); *La Correspondance d'un évêque Carolingien: Frothair de Toul (ca. 813-847) avec les lettres de Theuthilde, abbesse de Remiremont* (1998), ed. M. PARISSÉ a.o. (Paris, 1998: *Textes et Documents d'histoire médiévale* 2).

ing pigs,⁹⁹ obtaining beeswax when the production in one region was inadequate,¹⁰⁰ restoring buildings,¹⁰¹ planting sorrel and making tiles or slabs;¹⁰² Frothar wrote to other abbots to obtain wine and pigments for wall-painting.¹⁰³ Such letters survive in small numbers, but a busy abbot must have despatched dozens of them in a year. In the case of Einhard, it is particularly striking to notice the extremely bald and unadorned style of his business notes, and their extreme brevity. In these two respects, they contrast completely with his literary achievement in his biography of Charlemagne, his theological letters, or the letters he wrote after the death of his wife. Einhard's business letters survive apparently because a member of his monastic community copied Einhard's own drafts or correspondence book. But what of other letters of this sort, and what of the fate of receiver's copies? One might surmise that it was not just the mundane contents of such messages that ensured their omission by the copyists of most letter collections, but the circumstances of their dictation and preservation. Wax tablets have been associated with accounts and record keeping at many times in their history.¹⁰⁴ Is it unreasonable to imagine that the extremely simple style and consistently short length of estate memoranda by Einhard and others might be associated with original transmission on wax tablets?¹⁰⁵ The poor survival of such messages may reflect not only the disinterest of subsequent copyists, but also other factors: the loss of messages due to reuse of the wax-tablet, and the possibility that estate memoranda might be dictated, received, and kept (if preserved) in an office or storage room separate from the monastic scriptorium or library.

The Rarity of Early Medieval Love Letters

Whereas loss resulting from wax-tablet transmission is only a hypothesis for estate memoranda, in the case of love-letters, it is established that wax tablets were used for love-letters or poems in both classical antiquity and thirteenth cen-

⁹⁹ Ed. HAMPE, No. 58.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. HAMPE, No. 56.

¹⁰¹ Ed. HAMPE No. 5.

¹⁰² Ed. HAMPE No. 59.

¹⁰³ Frothar, ed. PARISSE *et al.*, Nos. 19 and 20, p. 128.

¹⁰⁴ For examples from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, Sicily and England, see WATTENBACH, *Schriftwesen*, p. 80; for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Halle, Schwäbisch Halle and Rouen, see *ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁰⁵ I have developed these arguments in more detail in a paper on "Early medieval letter collections as evidence for literacy and communication" (first delivered in 1989-90 and eventually forthcoming as an article).

tury Spain. Whether or not wax-tablets were used in the intervening years cannot be proven, but several other arguments can suggest that the absence of love letters from the literary history of the early medieval Latin West is an consequence of patterns of loss and preservation, and not of a radically different mentality.

The lack of love letters from the early Middle Ages has been frequently remarked; indeed, it can be said that the genre scarcely exists.¹⁰⁶ Yet it is impossible to imagine that no love letters whatsoever were composed.¹⁰⁷ The assumption that there were none is an example of literary history written *ex silentio* and without regard for the circumstances that ensure—or prevent—the preservation and subsequent transmission of letters. Interpreting the absences in the evidence positively rather than negatively, one might suppose that wherever lay vernacular literacy is attested for business and administrative purposes, literate skills will also have been exercised for the composition of love-letters. Examples from Norway and Novgorod corroborate this assumption and show that sophisticated writing skills were by no means necessary. Yet if love-letters were exchanged among the laity, it is hard to imagine how they would have found their way into ecclesiastical libraries for recopying and preservation. At the same time, if those in the religious life sent or received love letters, both incoming and outgoing love-letters would also be unlikely to be recopied into a letter collection for obvious reasons. The text

¹⁰⁶ For a sympathetic treatment of the history of courtly love-lyric which does address the problem of the lacunae in the evidence, see P. DRONKE, *Medieval Latin and The Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968); on love-letters specifically, see D. SCHALLER, "Probleme der Überlieferung und Verfasserschaft lateinischer Liebesbriefe des hohen Mittelalters", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1966), pp. 25-36; ID., " Erotische und sexuelle Thematik in Musterbriefsammlungen des 12. Jahrhunderts", in: *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, 6 vols. (Hannover, 1988-1990: *MGH Schriften* 33), 5: *Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschungen*, pp. 63-77 at p. 63. Note, however, that the Leiden Lorica is a love-charm. See *The Hisperica Famina. 2. Related Poems. A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary*, ed. M. HERREN (Toronto, 1987: *Studies and Texts* 85), pp. 90-92.

¹⁰⁷ There is considerable literature on the notable exceptions (which postdate the time frame for this investigation). For the editions, see the Tegernsee letter collection: *Dû bist mîn, ih bin dîn: Die lateinischen Liebes- (und Freundschafts-) Briefe des c11 1411. Abbildungen, Text und Übersetzung*, ed. J. KUHNEL (Göppingen, 1977: *Litterae. Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte* 52). *De Amasio ad Amasium*: E. RUHE, *De amasio ad amasiam; Zur Gattungsgeschichte des mittellalterlichen Liebesbriefes* (Munich, 1975: *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 10); E. KONGSEN, *Epistolae duorum amantium. Briefe Abaelards und Heloises?* (Leiden, 1974: *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 8; note the reference to wax tablets in Letter 14, p. 7: "si tabulas tuas, dulcissima, diutius retinere michi liceret, plurima scriberem...") (a new study of the latter by Constant MEWS is forthcoming: *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France* (with a translation by N. CHIAVAROLI and C. MEWS)).

of a letter sent from the inmate of a religious house to a lay lover would hardly find its way to an ecclesiastical scriptorium: the sender's draft of the letter might be intentionally hidden or destroyed, while the receiver's copy would be subject to the same poor survival chances of any document in lay possession. A letter on a wax tablet might be rubbed-out so that the tablet could be reused for the reply.¹⁰⁸ And of course any incoming love-letter addressed to someone in a religious house would be subject to restrictions imposed by the monastic rule about letters and gifts.¹⁰⁹ If actually received despite such restrictions, a love letter might be kept secret or else not stored in a place where it could eventually be incorporated into a collection.

Though logical, all of the foregoing considerations about the poor chances for the survival of love letters are strictly theoretical. However there is some more positive evidence for vernacular love letters in the Carolingian period. A famous prohibition establishes that nuns were sending vernacular love songs from their convents. Charlemagne perceived this as an abuse and wished it to stop: "by no means let them dare to write or send *winileodos*".¹¹⁰ *Winileodos* is a vernacular compound whose elements mean friend-songs or songs to friends; its occurrence in the Latin text of the capitulary seems to indicate that this was a recognized category of composition, and a practice widespread enough to justify a ban.¹¹¹

In addition to this evidence for nuns' love-songs or letters, there is also a tantalizing hint that lay people in the Merovingian or Carolingian period wrote

¹⁰⁸ For some examples of the use of wax tablets for love letters in classical antiquity, see SCHALLER, "Probleme der Überlieferung", pp. 26-7. There is a thirteenth-century example of a nun in Northern Spain receiving a letter in the deposition to the bishop by the nuns of Las Dueñas: "de auditu dixit quod catherina recepit tabulas cereas a quodam juvene scriptas..." (Quoted by Peter Linehan in a letter to the author, 23.2.1994; see now P. LINEHAN, *The Ladies of Zamora* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 48-49).

¹⁰⁹ For example, according to the *Benedictine Rule*, a monk could not send or receive letters or gifts without the abbot's knowledge. The Benedictine rule was of course not the only monastic rule, so it is interesting to note that similar provisions were enjoined by Augustine and Caesarius. See *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. FRY a.o. (Collegeville, 1981), c. 54, pp. 258-260.

¹¹⁰ *Capitularia regum francorum* ed. A. BORETIUS, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1883: *MGH Capp* 1-2), 1. See the *Duplex legationis edictum* of 789, No.19, pp. 62-64, at p. 63: "et nullatenus ibi winileodos scribere vel mittere praesumant". (Variant spellings of the word are *winileodes* and *winileudos*). For an example of nuns in Western Spain engaged in similar activity in the late thirteenth century, see LINEHAN, *The Ladies of Zamora*, where the nuns' testimony to their bishop included the statement by Alicia Eimenerez testifying that one Catherina received a letter from Peter as well as wax tablets from a youth. I thank Peter Linehan for this reference and for sending me the text.

¹¹¹ But note that glosses on the word have led some skeptical critics to the conclusion that the word merely denoted rustic songs; for the relevant literature, see SCHALLER, "Probleme der Überlieferung", p. 28, n. 19 and 20.

love-letters, or had professional writers of some kind draft them on their behalf. The evidence for this occurs in a sample letter-collection appended to a formulary. Merovingian and Carolingian formularies typically contain sample letters and documents for various occasions, such as manumission of slaves or land grants. One formulary letter collection, however, does transmit a love letter, the *indiculum ad sponsam*, or "note to a betrothed".¹¹² (One might object that the uniqueness of the example indicates precisely that love-letters were infrequent. But a comparison with the number of letters of excuse contained in the formularies reveals the fallacy of such reasoning. Letters of excuse were at all times very common, yet I know of only one complete text in the anonymous formularies, plus a notice of one other lost text.¹¹³) The language and formulation of the love letter are utterly distinct from the legal documents about marriage gifts and divorce found in the documentary formularies.¹¹⁴ The writer says that he thinks of his *amica* while lying in bed; he constantly dreams of her, and hopes that she does the same and that she will not forget him. The writer observes that he and his *sponsa* each have plans for how to fulfil their desire; he concludes with the wish that God will convey his beloved into his hands. The letter is followed in the manuscript by an observation about its contents: "haec est magna salutatio inter duos iuvenis (*sic*)".¹¹⁵ Was the formulary compiled as an exercise-book for learning to write letters, or may we imagine a scribe or notary operating the way professional writers do today in

¹¹² *Formulae Merowingici et karolini Aevi accedunt Ordines iudiciorum Dei*, ed. K. ZEUMER (Hannover, 1886: *MGH Legum sectio V:Formulae*), No. 47, p. 258; on the formulae *Salicae Merkelianae*, see: K. ZEUMER, "Ueber die älteren fränkischen Formelsammlungen", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 6 (1881), pp. 9-115, this formulary at pp. 85-91. Zeumer shows that this formulary is a composite, with three sections: a systematic collection of documents for private law (compiled by 774/5), a supplement which includes some royal charter formulae datable to 820/1, and a final distinct and apparently unrelated letter formulary; the love letter text has scarcely been discussed in the secondary literature and deserves attention. Although the spelling shows the influence of the Carolingian reforms, confusions of case, gender and syntax could point to an earlier date of composition. On this letter-formula, see the discussion by SCHALLER, " Erotische und sexuelle Thematik", pp. 66-67 (apparently the only scholarly discussion); and the brief notice of ZEUMER, "Ueber die älteren fränkischen Formelsammlungen", p. 90.

¹¹³ In this calculation, I exclude Notker's formulary. See GARRISON, "Letters of excuse", forthcoming.

¹¹⁴ Contrast, in this collection, Nos. 15, 17-19, at pp. 246-248, legal contracts concerning gifts to the bride, divorce, etc. However, the documentary section of the formulary is distinct from that containing the love letter. Note that the word *sponsa* does occur in document 17; its occurrence there combined with its persistence in the romance vernaculars (*épouse, sposa*) suggests that the love letter should be taken as a real formula rather than, say, a literary exercise in ethopoeia inspired by the *Song of Songs*.

¹¹⁵ *Formulae*, ed. ZEUMER, p. 257 l. 37, *iuvenis* for *iuvenes*.

societies with restricted literacy, taking dictation of love-letters and family letters? The two possibilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Conclusion

Juxtaposing the lost letters of the ancient and medieval world with those that were deliberately preserved reveals the partiality and one-sidedness of the extant corpus of medieval Latin letters. It is clearly wrong to assume that the extant evidence constitutes all that once existed. It is also untenable to assume that the physical format of the extant evidence was the only material possibility. Could the lost wax-tablets of the early medieval West create a bridge between the clerical culture of the Latin letters and ordinary people's daily lives? It is remarkable to note that the extraordinary discoveries at Vindolanda, Bergen and Novgorod have been known for less than the last fifty years of the end of the second millennium. Will the next fifty years see any more such finds? Whether or not they do, students of medieval literacy and communication should avoid explanatory models that would be undermined by such a discovery.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ I thank Anthony Harvey for a discussion of this point.

Communication by Written Texts in Court Cases: Some Charter Evidence (ca. 800-ca. 1100)

KARL HEIDECKER

The use of writing in law has, until recently, been mainly studied from the evidence of normative texts such as law codes. The impression of the role of writing that one obtains from these texts seems at odds with the impression produced by the study of the application of normative texts (and unwritten law). This latter aspect can be studied through judicial charters (in German: *Gerichtsurkunden*), that is charters drawn up in the course of lawsuits or recording their outcome. For the territory of the former Carolingian Empire North of the Alps prior to the year 1000, some 550 judicial charters are extant.¹

¹ The only available general list dealing with territories North of the Alps is: Rudolf HÜBNER, *Gerichtsurkunden der fränkischen Zeit. 1. Die Gerichtsurkunden aus Deutschland und Frankreich bis zum Jahre 1000* (Weimar, 1891), with *Ergänzungen* (Weimar, 1891) (together repr. Aalen, 1971). It lists about 550 charters for the period from the Carolingians to the year 1000. Note however that Hübner takes a large view of the category *Gerichtsurkunden*; he includes e.g. *formulae*. A list of judicial charters from the German royal and imperial court, starting from the year 911 is: Bernhard DIESTELKAMP and Ekkehart RÖTTER, *Urkundenregesten zur Tätigkeit des deutschen Königs- und Hofgerichts bis 1451*, vol. 1, *Die Zeit von Konrad I. bis Heinrich VI. 911-1197* (Cologne and Vienna, 1988: *Quellen und Forschungen zur höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im alten Reich, Sonderreihe 1*). For the eleventh century, it lists 97 charters regarding this highest court only, dealing with the realm governed by the German kings and emperors. For the *Regnum Italiae* there is: Cesare MANARESI, *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1955-1960: *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 92, 96, 97). This is updated by: François BOUGARD, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie de la fin du VIII^e siècle au début du XI^e siècle* (Rome, 1995: *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 291). For the *Regnum Italiae* from 774-1050, he arrives

Remarkably few studies of these charters deal with the application of law, let alone with the use of writing in court procedures.² For the eleventh century, no general survey of judicial charters North of the Alps exists as yet. This means that any systematic investigation must rely on regional and local cartularies, many of which are virtually inaccessible because they can be consulted in very few libraries indeed. Furthermore, the researcher who has tracked down these seventeenth- or eighteenth-century cartularies must grapple with uncritically printed (or doctored) texts; and some nineteenth-century cartularies are no better. The present article is a preliminary investigation for a monograph to be written about the use of writing in judicial practice in Burgundy, Swabia and Franconia, intended to partially fill the lacuna in our knowledge of this aspect of legal literacy.

A first survey of the editions shows remarkable regional and chronological differences: whereas for eleventh-century Burgundy, for example, hundreds of judicial charters are still extant, for tenth- and eleventh-century Franconia no more than several dozen survive. For eleventh-century Swabia, I have been able to find merely a dozen. Nevertheless, a comparative approach of the period 600-1120 may be both feasible and promising. The individual judicial charters give valuable insights into the use of the written word at a given time and place, and it is hoped that the study of these charters in their totality will allow trends to become visible. Here, we will merely discuss a few examples of judicial charters, which show a remarkable variety in their use of the written word. Most of the important topics touched upon cannot be investigated properly in the limited space of an article. We will confine our attention to one, apparently

at a total of over 500 cases (*ibidem*, p. 112). MANARESI, *I placiti*, 3, gives for the period 1050-1100 another 98 charters. For Anglo-Saxon England, Patrick WORMALD, "A handlist of Anglo-Saxon lawsuits", *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988), pp. 247-281, lists 95 charters of lawsuits for the period 736-1066; including mentions in *Domesday Book* and in cartulary-chronicles, he comes to a total of 153. For the period 1066-1100, Raoul C. VAN CAENEGEM, *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, 1 (London, 1990), lists 152 lawsuits, more than 100 of which are solely mentioned in *Domesday Book*.

² An enlightening collection of articles dealing with the use of this kind of charters is *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy DAVIES and Paul FOURACRE (Cambridge, 1986). For the Carolingian period, Janet L. NELSON, "Dispute settlement in Carolingian West Francia", in: *The Settlement of Disputes*, pp. 45-64, is seminal. For Italy, see François BOUGARD, *La justice*. For a summary of his findings, together with general considerations which are of importance for the study of other regions as well, see François BOUGARD, "La justice dans le royaume d'Italie aux IX^e-X^e siècles", in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)* (Spoleto, 1997: *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* 44), pp. 133-178. There are almost no judicial charters relating to criminal law. This is understandable in view of criminal law's different character in the Middle Ages.

simple, question: How were written texts and the act of writing itself employed in court cases? In other words, we will approach the judicial actions taking place as acts of communication between people.

The sources analyzed are a dozen charters, all originating from Switzerland and Burgundy and dating from the beginning of the ninth to the beginning of the twelfth century. They will be presented more or less in chronological order. All charters chosen were issued as the outcome of secular court cases. Like almost all charters of this kind they deal with two topics which were crucial to medieval society: possession and status.

The participants in these court cases perform various acts that are meant to be seen, heard or read by a variety of people. We will look at these acts in order to determine what was the role played by writing in these court cases. I will set out each case divided into several stages or "scenes". This way of presenting our analysis will hopefully make clear the performances of the different participants, as the court cases are to some extent public spectacles to be performed before viewers and listeners, all of whom would observe the decision and outcome. Writing may therefore play a role at three moments in a case. First, at the moment the parties concerned present their arguments, a written text might be adduced as evidence. Second, writing can play a role when possession is transferred. And third, if the cases were recorded in charters, the act of recording needs to be taken into account. This could take different forms, as we shall see, and have different meanings.

An Ordeal about Fattening Pigs

In the year 908, in the area around Lausanne, situated in the realm of King Rudolf I of Burgundy, a suit was brought.³ Before the king's court, publicly presided by Rudolf himself, appeared Boso, bishop of Lausanne. He claimed that the cathedral church of Saint Mary possessed the forest in the county of Lausanne by customary right. That entailed the right to fatten the canons' pigs in the woods and to dispose of the churches, farms and servile labour, as there was no obligation to pay pastoral or forestal duties to the king.⁴ The king heard

³ Charter of Rudolf I, 18 July 908, in: *Die Urkunden der Burgundischen Rudolfinger*, ed. Theodor SCHIEFFER and H.E. MAYER (München, 1977: *MGH DD Regum Burgundiae e stirpe Rudolfina*), No. 10, pp. 108-109. For this case, cf. also Jacques BERCHER, *Approche systématique de l'ancien droit privé vaudois (888-1250)* (Genève, 1963: *Travaux de droit d'économie et de sociologie* 6) pp. 55-56, 93-94 (with a different interpretation), 139, 142.

⁴ Charter of Rudolf I, 18 July 908, pp. 108-109.

Boso and thereupon decided to send a considerable number of legates to the disputed region to enquire on the spot into the affair "as is the old custom".⁵ This enquiry by royal legates was of a type of investigation often used by Rudolf's Carolingian predecessors.⁶

The next scene takes us to a village in the disputed region at the moment of the royal legates' arrival. They found bishop Boso already present, standing in the village court, publicly proclaiming that all the forest in that region (he took care to explicitly point out its borders) was by law in the possession of himself and the canons of Saint Mary, and did not belong to the king. Then all the bystanders, the hunters and foresters, young and old, said that the bishop was telling the truth. This was followed by a public performance by this same group of people to confirm their dependence from Saint Mary's.⁷

The following scene brings us back to the king's court, where bishop Boso appeared once again. This time, he asked the king for a "legal judgement" (*legale iudicium*) on the matter. The king granted his wish and sent his hunter Emico to hold a "judgement of God" (*iudicium Dei*), an ordeal. Emico went to the forest and there, together with other "good men", walked its borders. Then they took a serf by the name of Arulf to undergo the ordeal of hot iron. They declared the fact to be proven, namely that in the forest mentioned bishop Boso and his successors and the canons of Saint Mary and the serfs of Saint Mary were allowed to construct churches, build farms and fatten pigs, and that nobody else's pigs were allowed to roam there, and that nobody owed service to the king. Arulf's hand was then branded with a hot iron. His hand was bandaged and sealed, and he himself put under guard by the foresters for three days. On the third day all came to unseal his hand and found it healthy and unharmed.⁸ We may assume that Arulf's hand did not really pass this ordeal unscathed, as we know from other cases how an ordeal by fire took place. If after three days the injured hand was healing normally, i.e. if no puss and blood were flowing from it, and if there was no sign of the limb dying, this was seen as a sign of God, saying that the participant in the ordeal had passed the test.

The final scene is the moment when the official judgement was written down by chancellor Saturninus, a priest who also wrote for the chapter of

⁵ Ibid., p. 109: "quod ... diligenter inquisissent, ut mos est antiqua".

⁶ Raoul C. VAN CAENEGEM, "La preuve dans le droit du moyen-âge occidental. Rapport de synthèse", in: *La Preuve* (Brussels, 1965: *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin* 17,2), pp. 691-753; François-Louis GANSCHOF, "La preuve dans le droit franc", in: *La Preuve*, pp. 71-98; NELSON, "Dispute settlement", pp. 60-61; for Italy, BOUGARD, *La justice*, pp. 194-203.

⁷ Charter of Rudolf I, 18 July 908, p. 109.

⁸ Ibid., p. 109: "... salvam et illesam ...".

Lausanne.⁹ The charter does not mention were the judgement had been written, but it probably has not been done on the spot. It mentions by name the most important of the royal legates who undertook the first enquiry, together with eleven witnesses present at the ordeal.¹⁰

The most important evidence seems to have been provided by the ordeal, for by it the judgement was connected with the supernatural world. God had communicated to all those present who ought to be the owner of the forest. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the burnt hand, which God had willed to heal more or less, had to be interpreted by some at least of those present, while the others were probably looking on. This left some leeway for subjective interpretation and for finding an agreement acceptable to all present. The outcome of this particular case was clear and accepted by all. The public manifestation of Arulf's burnt but healing hand proved that the bishop's pigs could righteously fatten in the forest and that no other pigs were allowed this right.

This case shows the working of judicial practice without much recourse to writing. No written text is produced as an argument; writing is not used in the handing over of property or, as in this case, the confirmation of a right. The whole procedure seems to work perfectly well without the use of the written word, except of course for the last stage, the writing of the charter. Probably the case had been triggered by bishop Boso, who wanted to secure his church's rights on the forest. It does not look as if there has been a real dispute with another party presenting counter-claims. The only other interested party who could have claimed some rights seems to have been the king himself, but he never presented his case. The procedure as it was written down might be seen as a judicial confirmation procedure, started to obtain written proof of ownership.¹¹ This seems to have been bishop Boso's aim: he wanted a written document to prove existing rights. The means to procure this document did not

⁹ For the chancery of the chapter of Lausanne see Peter RÖCK, "Das öffentliche Kanzellariat in der Westschweiz (8.-14. Jh.)", in: *Landesherrliche Kanzleien im Spätmittelalter. Referate zum VI. internationalen Kongress für Diplomatik*, ed. Gabriel SILAGI, 2 vols. (München, 1984), I, pp. 218-229, 258-261.

¹⁰ Charter of Rudolf I, 18 July 908, p. 109.

¹¹ This procedure was not uncommon in Merovingian times and in ninth- and tenth-century Italy; see Werner BERGMANN, "Untersuchungen zu den Gerichtsurkunden der Merowingerzeit", *AfD* 22 (1976), pp. 93-105, 130-135; Jürgen WEITZEL, *Dinggenossenschaft und Recht. Untersuchungen zum Rechtsverständnis im fränkisch-deutschen Mittelalter* (Cologne and Vienna, 1985: *Quellen und Forschungen zur höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im alten Reich* 15, 2 vols.), pp. 839-854. German literature calls them either *Scheinprozesse* or *gerichtliche Bestätigungsverfahren*. For a discussion and a different interpretation of the much-debated Italian cases, see BOUGARD, *La justice*, pp. 319-329.

include recourse to writing, but henceforth proof was to lie not only in public manifestations and the naming of witnesses who could be called upon, but also in a written charter.

Timber

Our second case takes us once again into the woods. This time, we are dealing with a dispute between the monastery of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon and a layman called Hildebernus about chopping down trees. Hildebernus must have been a man of some importance, since he had free men and serfs working for him.¹² The case dragged on at least three years, between December 866 and 870, and was dealt with at several sessions of several courts. At each session a charter was drawn up. We still have three of these charters, and at least two others are lost. The courts mentioned in these charters are all described as public courts (*mallus publicus*). They were presided over by royal legates: in each case a bishop and a count, and sometimes an abbot or another layman was added to the bench. More people are named who were involved in these court-sessions. Besides the royal legates, the plaintiff and the accused, there were *scabini*, who rendered their judgement about how the case had to proceed. Furthermore, a number of unnamed people is mentioned as being involved in the process of hearing the case and arriving at just judgements.¹³ The monastery of Saint-Bénigne was represented by a so-called *advocatus*, named Alcaudus. Alcaudus was also *advocatus* of the monastery of Saint Stephen of Dijon and of the cathedral church of Saint-Mammès of Langres. Since one of the royal legates presiding over the court sessions was Isaac, bishop of Langres, we might suspect some conflict of interests here.

In the first court session Alcaudus accused Hildebernus of having had his men cut down an oak tree in the forest belonging to the monastery of Saint-Bénigne. He said that this has been done "contrary to the order of things" (*malo ordine*), the common expression in judicial charters by which a plaintiff accused someone of an unlawful action or possession. One might interpret this accusation as follows: Hildebernus was accustomed to cut down trees in the

¹² Lux, December 866; Coton (in the edition erroneously: Lux), February 867; and Coton, 869-870, in: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300*, ed. Robert FOLZ, 1, *vi^e-x^e siècles*, ed. G. CHEVRIER and M. CHAUME (Dijon, 1986: *Analecta Burgundica*), Nos. 76, 78, 84, pp. 106-108, 113-115.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 108: "... et alios plures qui ibi adfuerunt ad multorum causas audiendas vel recta iudicia facienda". Similar mentions are encountered in the charters on pp. 106 and 115.

forest, a custom which was now protested against by a monastery claiming rights of property. Whatever the truth of the matter, Alcaudus claimed to have witnesses¹⁴ of the felling of the oak and had Hildebernus summoned before the county court when it was to be next in session, after forty days.¹⁵

Hildebernus appeared before the court forty days later. Alcaudus accused him again of having "put to death" (*mortificasset*) a tree; upon which Hildebernus answered that he had been summoned unjustly. But Alcaudus upheld his claim and the *scabini* of the court decided that Hildebernus should return at a next session, again after an interval of forty days. Then he was to swear in court against Alcaudus or else to render what is due according to the law. A charter was issued to this effect.¹⁶

Forty days later, Hildebernus failed to appear in court. Alcaudus, present, swore his oath. And because Hildebernus was not present and had not sent a message with an explanation why he was unable to come, he was publicly proclaimed *geitivus*.¹⁷ The *scabini* gave a charter as proof to Alcaudus with an account of the state of affairs, a *geist carta*, signed by sixteen men present, nine of whom also had signed the first charter.¹⁸

After these three court sessions, held at intervals of forty days, we have to wait two or three years for the next (extant) charter in this case to be issued. Meanwhile, several court cases had taken place and two more charters had been written. Hildebernus had chopped down another oak tree. Alcaudus had once again summoned him before the court. Hildebernus once more had refused to appear. He was proclaimed *geitivus* (or in another spelling *gictivus*) anew, and Alcaudus had received another *geist carta* to add to his collection. Still the case dragged on. Hildebernus "killed" a third oak tree. Alcaudus finally got hold of Hildebernus at a public session of another court, accused him, and Hildebernus was convicted—but only for chopping down the third tree, an act which Alcaudus was able to prove by producing witnesses at the second court. He received a charter of the judgement (which is now lost).

¹⁴ I have chosen to translate "*tales testes*" as "witnesses", as in this case it seems the most logical solution.

¹⁵ Lux, December 866, in: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 1, No. 76, p. 106.

¹⁶ Coton, February 867, in: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 1, No. 78, pp. 107-108.

¹⁷ *Textes relatifs aux institutions privées et publiques aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne*, ed. M. THÉVENIN (Paris, 1887: Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire), p. 140, explains this as *iektivus*, "defaulting", as does DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, s.v. The meaning of "geist" does not become clear.

¹⁸ Coton, February 867, p. 108.

At last Alcaudus managed to summon Hildebernus before yet another comital court. He accused him of unjustly possessing properties of the monastery Saint-Bénigne, and of having chopped down three oak trees. Alcaudus loudly stated his case, holding all his charters in his hand: a judgement and two *geist cartae*. Hildebernus was asked to defend himself, but according to the royal legates, nothing of what he said was worth any credence.¹⁹ Hence it was decided that Hildebernus should pay amends for the oak trees, and that he should lawfully give back the land he held. This happened as follows. At the court Hildebernus made a pledge, perhaps with sureties, to hand over the properties in question. Then the action changed to the land to be handed over. The participants went to the property, and its boundaries were described with precision. Hildebernus handed over the land to Saint-Bénigne by handing Alcaudus a herb and a sod. This ritual, an investiture, took place in the presence of 21 witnesses who subscribed the charter, three of whom we have also encountered in the two previous extant charters. The charter itself was not drawn up when the transaction took place, but afterwards, in the court where the judgement had been pronounced.²⁰

As this account demonstrates, writing plays a more prominent role in this case than in the previous example. Charters are used to substantiate one's arguments, though they are certainly not the only arguments used. They are ostentatiously held up in court for everybody to see, as visual not just textual proof. The decisions of the courts are written down in charters with the express purpose of enabling users to produce them, if and when necessary, in later court cases. Yet in the act of handing over the disputed property itself, writing seems to play no role whatsoever. It seems as if the writing of judicial charters, which took place at a court, and the handing over of the property, on the spot, could not occur simultaneously. An alternative would have been to write two charters, one recording the judgement in court, and the other, the handing over of the

¹⁹ Coton, 869-870, in: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, I, No. 84, p. 115: " . nulla certa valebat dicere".

²⁰ *Ibid*

property where the transaction took place.²¹ Obviously the validity of the transaction depended on those present witnessing it.

Some questions regarding the case of Hildebernus and his trees remain puzzling. What was the value of the *geist carta*? Apparently it did not give any rights of possession. Could Hildebernus be forced to abandon the customary possession of his oak trees, merely because he failed to appear in court, for example after three separate summonses? It would probably have made a difference if he had solemnly vowed to appear, which, if we take the charters at face value, he never did. And most important: how could Hildebernus be forced to abandon his possession of the disputed properties?

These issues become clearer when we consider the theories of the so-called "consensual" character of early medieval legal systems (law in the sense of the German *Recht*). Jürgen Weitzel has formulated some interesting theses on the ways in which law worked, linking its consensual character with the circumstance that this law is not written. He contrasts this system with written law, which is authoritarian.²² To put his ideas in a slightly simplified manner: in one system law is not written and legal decisions are made with the agreement of all people present. In the other system law is written; accordingly, judgements are made by an authority, a judge, who interprets the codified law and enforces his judgement by a public institution, for example the state, which guarantees that the law is upheld. However, there are some important reservations to be made with regard to the Middle Ages. As Weitzel points it out, medieval law is multi-layered. First there is the domain of written ecclesiastical law. Then some of the administrative and legal heritage of the Roman empire, though much debased,

²¹ Research into the repetitive character of medieval judicial gestures and its meaning might be promising. A first, audacious attempt has been made by August NITSCHKE, "Wandel der Rechtsgesten", in: *Forschungen zur Rechtsarchäologie und rechtlichen Volkskunde* ed. Louis CARLEN, (Zürich, 1989), pp. 105-129; see also Ruth SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, "Sprachgebärden aus dem mittelalterlichen Rechtsleben. Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung", in: *Das andere Wahrnehmen. Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte August NITSCHKE zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. M. KINTZINGER, W. STÜRNER and J. ZAHLTEN (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1991), pp. 233-249.

²² For the following see especially Jürgen WEITZEL, "Gewohnheitsrecht und fränkisch-deutsches Gerichtsverfahren", in: Gerhard DILCHER a.o., *Gewohnheitsrecht und Rechtsgewohnheiten im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1992: *Schriften zur Europäischen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* 6) pp. 67-86, and *ibid.*, *Dinggenossenschaft*. Important are also Gerhard DILCHER, "Mittelalterliche Rechtsgewohnheit als methodisch-theoretisches Problem", in: DILCHER a.o., *Gewohnheitsrecht*, pp. 21-65, and Reiner SCHULZE, "'Gewohnheitsrecht' und 'Rechtsgewohnheiten' im Mittelalter-Einführung", *ibid.*, pp. 9-20. Dilcher (following Karl KROESCHELL, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1972-1973), 2, p. 86) prefers the expression *Rechtsgewohnheiten* (legal customs) instead of customary law, the concept of "customary law" being formulated in a system of written law.

is still in existence. Finally, there is the Carolingian effort at authoritarian state building, which encompassed the first two elements; an essential part of this impulse was directed towards the legal system.²³ Hence there is not so much a legal system that is either unwritten/consensual or written/authoritarian, but rather a system in which both modes coexist. However, at any given time and place one or the other is dominant. In the case of early medieval secular law, both unwritten law and the extant elements of written law were interpreted according to the rules of the unwritten law. The role of consensus is preeminent. In this legal system the state of law, and of justice, is either accepted by all or, in case of a conflict, it is considered to be broken. To repair the situation, a reparation of consensus is needed. To achieve this end, the conflicting parties have to consent to a judgement rendered. From this point of view the behaviour of Alcaudus and Hildebernus becomes more understandable. The right of felling the oak trees had not been taken from Hildebernus unless he publicly proclaimed his consent.²⁴

But how does the *geist carta* fit into the story? Why bother to write such a charter if it did not have any consequences? Here the multi-layered character of the legal system becomes apparent. Elements of written law made up part of the legal system. These elements can be linked to the role of the Carolingian state. The state machinery of the Carolingian kings tried to exert its influence over many areas, among which jurisdiction features prominently. To achieve this end, the State introduced elements of enforcement into legal procedure, by which the parties were obliged to give their consent. One of the means used intensively by the Carolingians was writing.²⁵ In this case Alcaudus could not

²³ In WEITZEL, "Gewohnheitsrecht", the author only lightly brushes this Roman heritage. More can be found on this matter in his *Dinggenossenschaft*, I, pp. 629-661. On the matter of the Roman legal heritage I found enlightening Peter CLASSEN, "Fortleben und Wandel spätrömischen Urkundenwesens im frühen Mittelalter", in: *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter CLASSEN (Sigmaringen, 1977: *Vorträge und Forschungen* 23), pp. 13-54, and Karl KROESCHELL, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I (Hamburg, 1972), pp. 29-73.

²⁴ Two important reservations should be made at this point. Stressing the preeminence of consensus in judicial procedure does not mean that nobody can be rightfully entitled to possession without such consensus. Clearly legal rules obtain (even if they sometimes are in conflict) which determine someone's right. See WEITZEL, "Gewohnheitsrecht", pp. 80-84. Finally, one should note that consensus can also play an important role in a legal system based on writing. Even nowadays many civil cases are settled by an agreement between the parties.

²⁵ For the Carolingian state and its use of writing in matters of law, see: François-Louis GANSCHOF, "Charlemagne et l'administration de la justice", in: *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, I, ed. Helmut BEUMANN (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 394-419; Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 23-134; NELSON, "Dispute settlement"; ID., "Literacy in Carolingian Government", in: *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond MCKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 258-296; Peter JOHANEK,

force Hildebernus to give up anything by presenting a *geist carta*, but he could use it by playing upon the consensual element of the judicial procedure. As Weitzel would put it, he seems to be deploying written legal documents according to the rules of unwritten law. Pressure could be exercised upon the conflicting parties in a general session of the court by all people present, since these sessions very much had a public character. Hence by presenting the charters issued by courts under the presidency of royal *missi*, Alcaudus could play upon the sentiments of those who were not party to the issue, winning them over to his side and thereby putting pressure upon Hildebernus, if and when he could get a hold of him at a session.

The Bishop's Anger

Our next case takes place in the year 920 in present-day Austria, close to the Swiss border in the court (the *mallus publicus*) at Rankweil in Voralberg. The parties involved were the monks of Sankt Gallen and Waldo, the bishop of Chur, who had a dispute over the possession of the abbey of Pfäfers.²⁶ This dispute had already been going on for some time. It was the result of a rather complicated agreement (a "pact" says the charter) between the monks of Sankt Gallen and Waldo's uncle Salomo, the late bishop of Constance and abbot of Sankt Gallen. Salomo had given the abbey of Pfäfers and the *curtis* Bussnang to the monastery of Sankt Gallen, while reserving the usufruct of both for himself during his lifetime and, after his death, for his nephew Waldo, his sister's son. However, if Waldo were to become bishop of Chur, he was to receive Bussnang as his heritage, while Pfäfers was to be given to Sankt Gallen. Apparently Waldo's career was well planned, because he indeed became bishop of Chur. But as Sankt Gallen had refused to surrender Bussnang to Waldo, he had

"Herrscherdiplom und Empfängerkreis. Die Kanzlei Ludwigs des Frommen in der Schriftlichkeit der Karolingerzeit", in: *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern. Referate des Kolloquiums der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. Rudolf SCHIEFFER (Opladen, 1996: *Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 97), pp. 167-188; Régine LEJAN, "Justice royale et pratiques sociales dans le royaume franc au IX^e siècle", in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1997: *Settimane di studio sul alto medioevo* 44), 1, pp. 47-90. The subject of the effectiveness of the Carolingian attempts of influencing the legal system and its use of writing is still subject to much debate.

²⁶ Rankweil, 8 March 920, in: *Bündner Urkundenbuch herausgegeben durch die historisch-antiquarische Gesellschaft von Graubünden*, ed. Elisabeth MEYER-MARTHALER and Franz PERRET (Chur, 1947), No. 96, pp. 78-80. On this case, see Heinrich FICHTEAU, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna and Graz, 1971: *MIÖG Ergänzungsband* 23), pp. 113-114.

kept Pfäfers.²⁷ The case was brought before king Konrad I, who in 914 decided that, since Sankt Gallen did not surrender Bussnang, Pfäfers was to go to Waldo. Then in march 920 the monks of Sankt Gallen appeared with their *advocatus* in the public court at Rankweil before duke Burchard and bishop Waldo, and claimed the abbey of Pfäfers. Waldo reacted furiously and although he had his own *advocatus*, Ursicinus, with him, he seems to have spoken in person, attacking one of the monks of Sankt Gallen, a certain Cozolt. The charter records his arguments in direct speech: "Why are you making demands, contrary to the order of things (*malo ordine*), since you yourself, Cozolt, have exercised force with your advocate Domnicus against my uncle Salomo and against me, because he had concluded a pact with you and the other monks of Sankt Gallen? (...) All this you have broken".²⁸ Waldo then proceeded, still in direct speech, to present his arguments: "And the whole people of Churwalden knows this".²⁹ What has happened is public knowledge. Waldo does not show the charter issued by his uncle Salomo, perhaps because he does not possess a copy of it. He refers to the agreement put down in writing and signed by his uncle, but the charter itself is neither shown to the court, nor asked for. He then refers to the court case before king Konrad. There, too, all people who were present had judged that Cozolt had acted wrongly, "and therefore our lord gave this precept about Pfäfers, which I hold in my hand".³⁰ Waldo dramatically produces the charter received from Konrad, which thereupon is read aloud. The "judges" (*iudices*) decide that the monks of Sankt Gallen must produce people from Churwalden who can lawfully swear in court against the bishop. If they cannot produce witnesses, they have no case. The monks and their advocate give in. The "judges" are named in the charter, all sixty of them. The charter is written and subscribed by the priest Ursicinus. In the last lines he has stated that this judgement is made by all, that nobody may ever take up this case again, and that it has been publicly written and read before the whole people.³¹

²⁷ Charter of Salomo, Sankt Gallen, 28 December 909, in: *Bündner Urkundenbuch*, No. 89, pp. 74-75.

²⁸ Rankweil, 8 March 920, p. 79: "Quod malo ordine queris, qui tu ipse Cozolt forcia fecisti cum advocato tuo Domnico avunculo meo Salomoni et mihi, quia ipse pactum habuit factum cum te et cum aliis monachis de sancto Gallo. ... Hec omnia tu irrumpisti". Cozolt had signed the previous charter of Salomo as a witness (Sankt Gallen, 28 December 909, p. 75); so had the *advocatus* Domnicus, who was at that period still Salomo's *advocatus*.

²⁹ Rankweil, 8 March 920, p. 79: "*Et hoc scit omnis populus de Curuvala*".

³⁰ *Ibid.*: "et ob hanc causam dedit senior meus hoc preceptum de Favarias, quod in manu teneo". This charter of Konrad I is no longer extant.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

A charter plays an important role in this case. It is shown publicly and read aloud. It looks as if it helped to win the case. However, it is just one of several arguments presented by Waldo. He seems to rely much more on the people present, who seem to support him—or at least do not dare to go against him by publicly swearing that he is in the wrong. His speech and actions are a performance to win the assembled crowd over to his side. Hence his attack on Cozolt is vicious, direct and personal, branding him an evil person for breaking the pact made with his late uncle. In his effort to win over the public's sentiments, the ostentatious showing and the reading of the royal charter must certainly have played a role. But the judgement seems to indicate that even the force of this royal charter could have been countered by people swearing against Waldo. Finally, a judicial charter is written down publicly, read out aloud in front of all present, and is subscribed by Ursicinus at the request of the *cancellarius*. This charter is unquestionably a public document intended to serve as written proof, but it is also clear that an attempt is made to implicate as many people as possible in the judgement, in order to prevent anybody from contravening it in the future. Note also that the decision of the "judges" is not a real verdict. *Iudices* or *scabini* in Carolingian courts mainly ensured that judicial procedure was followed in the right way. Here, the plaintiff is left with the choice either to produce sworn witnesses or to abandon his case. Once again judicial procedure seems to strive for some sort of general agreement between all present at the court session.

"It Was True, Because It Was Not False"

The next case takes place in Burgundy. It also takes us back in time a century, to 814, the first year of the reign of Emperor Louis the Pious.³² In a public court presided over by the count and royal legates a man named Walaradus appeared. He claimed ownership of a piece of land that was in the possession of the children of the late Wido. Both parties are lay-people. This is quite exceptional for this period, as most charters that survive have been preserved in monasteries, and the cases consequently involve mostly monasteries. Walaradus claimed land in the public court hearing, holding a charter in his hand, which he showed to everybody. Since the accused party, Wido's children, apparently were still minors, they were represented by an *advocatus*, called Provardus. The boundaries of the land claimed by Walaradus are described in

³² 1 February (?) 814, in: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. BERNARD and A. BRUEL, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), 1, No. 3, pp. 6-8.

detail. The charter was shown and read aloud two or three times. Provardus was asked if he wanted to say anything against this charter or to present evidence against it, in short: whether the charter was true or false. He merely said two, three times that "it was true, because it was not false".³³ He then granted possession to Walaradus by giving sureties and by having a certain Teutbertus as guarantor that he would hand over this possession on the place itself by a lawful investiture. "And so he did", says the charter. A charter was then written, subscribed by twenty-one witnesses present, and given to Walaradus.³⁴

The main argument here lies in the charter presented in court. It is shown in public, but apparently also publicly examined by many people. It is passed around, read aloud several times and probably debated. The defence proved unable to present any convincing argument against it. Hence the *advocatus* had to confess that, since he could not disprove the claims of his opponent, supported by the charter, he had to accept them as true. The actual handing over of the property does not involve writing either when the promise in court is made nor when the actual investiture on the spot takes place. After these actions have taken place, a charter is written, subscribed by the witnesses and given to the party that has prevailed.

Losing and Throwing

Our next Burgundian charter stems from Mâcon in the year 953, at the court presided over by count Leutald and Maimbod, the bishop of Mâcon.³⁵ The monastery of Cluny had accused a man by the name of Hugo of withholding possessions which had been donated to the monastery by the late count William. Hugo was present and stated that he had held on to these possessions because they had belonged to his mother Doda, and that he had obtained them through a charter of his lord Leutbald (maybe identical with the count presiding?). It was judged that Hugo should prove this gift; if he was not able to do so, he should do as the law required. Hugo apparently gave in and recognised the rights of Cluny. He gave the disputed possessions to Cluny and performed a public act of rejection, a so-called *werpitio*, a gesture of literally throwing something away, probably a stick.³⁶

³³ Ibid., p. 7: "dixit quod vera aderat nam non falsa".

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

³⁵ 13 October 953, in: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 1, No. 856, pp. 810-811.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 810-811.

This is a fine example of presenting charter testimony in court to no avail. The reason for the failure to convince is not quite clear. Possibly the disputed possessions were subject to complicated, conflicting rights from an inheritance which also included the rights on certain parts of the income of several churches. Hugo was asked to provide the written proof for his claim. Apparently the charter was either not produced or judged insufficient, and he had to abandon his case and hand over the possessions.

"So That There Might Be Peace and Benignity Between Them"

So far we have looked at some ninth- and tenth-century charters. With our next example we arrive at the year 1000, for some historians the symbol of a historical watershed, for others a year like any other. According to the first group of historians, society profoundly changed in the decades around the year 1000; according to the second group, only minor adjustments took place.³⁷ Charters do play an important role in this controversy. The charters of Cluny are at its origin, as they have provided much of the source material for the thesis of Georges Duby on the Mâconnais. He was the first to present the idea of a profound change around the year 1000.³⁸ One of the changes which definitely occurred (and as yet there does not seem any convincing evidence to doubt it) concerned the format of many judicial charters. However, whether this change

³⁷ This is not the place to enter into the details of this controversy, which at present is making waves notably in France. The main positions are taken by: Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et Xie siècles* (Paris, 1997), and ID., "Encore le débat sur l'an mil!", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 73 (1995), pp. 349-360, against Jean-Pierre POLY and Éric BOURNAZEL, *La mutation féodale Xe-XIIe siècle*, second edn. (Paris, 1991: *Nouvelle Clio*); ID., "Que faut-il préférer au 'mutationisme'? ou le problème du changement social", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 72 (1994), pp. 401-412; Guy BOIS, *La mutation de l'an mil. Lournand, village mâconnais, de l'Antiquité au féodalisme* (Paris, 1989), and the review by Alain GUERREAU, "Lournand au X^e siècle: histoire et fiction", *Le Moyen Age* 96 (1990), pp. 519-537, and by several authors in: *L'an mil: rythmes et acteurs d'une croissance (= Médiévales* 21 (1991)); T.N. BISSON, "The 'Feudal Revolution'", *Past and Present* 142 (1994), pp. 6-42; Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, "Debate I" and Stephen D. WHITE, "Debate II", *Past and Present* 152 (1996), pp. 196-223, Timothy REUTER, "Debate III" and Chris WICKHAM, "Debate IV", followed by an answer of BISSON, *Past and Present* 155 (1997), pp. 177-225.

³⁸ Georges DUBY, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953); ID., "Recherches sur l'évolution des institutions judiciaires pendant le X^e et le XI^e siècle dans le Sud de la Bourgogne", *Le Moyen Age* 52 (1946), pp. 149-194 and 53 (1947), pp. 15-38.

reflects a profound social transformation and if so, what kind of change, remains to be seen.³⁹

The case recorded in our charter is very simple. Before Artold and his faithful men appeared a man called Gauzbertus. He claimed that the monks of Cluny unlawfully possessed a certain *curtis*, because it had been given to him by a certain Fredelus. But all present decided that he had no rights to this possession. They let him perform a public act of rejection of this possession, a *werpitio*, to the effect that neither he nor his heirs would ever again make the same claim against Cluny.⁴⁰ Then the monks of Cluny gave Gauzbertus a sum of money to the value of seven denarii, paid in solidi, "so that there might be peace and benignity between them".⁴¹ Gauzbertus confirmed the charter which was drawn up and handed it over to competent witnesses to confirm it as well. The charter has the signs and names of Gauzbertus and seven witnesses.

In this case no written text is adduced. This absence is as a matter of fact very common indeed. There are two possible explanations. First, it is possible that there simply were no charters that could be used. This seems quite possible, as in many cases possession did not depend on a disputed transfer or confirmation of possession which might have asked for a charter to be written. A second possible explanation is that there may have been a charter in existence, but this was simply not mentioned in the text emanating from the court. Two acts of rejecting possession are visible: a gesture called *werpitio*, and a "literate" action: the public confirmation of a charter with one's own hands, by touching, signing and handing over the charter, following which the witnesses sign in their turn. Between these two actions a counter-action of the beneficiaries took place: they handed over a sum of money. The transaction involved gifts and counter-gifts, and the text indicates why: "so that there might be peace and benignity between them". Clearly all parties involved wanted to keep up good relationships, even if disputes between them might sometimes occur. It seems as if the case was negotiated in court, or perhaps even beforehand, out of court, and that it was deliberately concluded before an assembly of viewers and listeners.

³⁹ For changes in documentary writing, see especially: *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XI^e siècle*, ed. Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN, Laurent MORELLE and Michel PARISSE (= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 155 (1997), pp. 1-349); but already Henk B. TEUNIS, "Afspraak, schrift en gezag: het begin van de verschriftelijking in West-Frankrijk (1050-1125)", in: *Oraliteit en schriftcultuur*, ed. R.E.V. STUIP and C. VELLEKOOP (Hilversum, 1993: *Utrechtse bijdragen tot de mediëvistiek* 12), pp. 145-154, had drawn attention to the problem.

⁴⁰ Ca. 1000, in: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 2, No. 2527, p. 599.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, "propter pacem et benignitatem ut haberent inter se".

Our case seems to be a fine example of the consensual character of unwritten medieval law.⁴² Both parties settle their conflict and agree in court to transfer possession in exchange for money, and both perform the appropriate gestures. From a rather different point of view, the case also seems to provide some arguments in favour of the thesis of a profound transformation around the year 1000. After the collapse of the Carolingian system of public courts of law, when conflicts were settled under the guidance of *iudices* or *scabini* who controlled judicial procedure, we seem to observe the disappearance of charters issued by the courts according to well-established rules. The Carolingian machinery had been replaced by simple agreements between two parties, achieved mainly out of court, and which were recorded in a very simple memorandum.⁴³ The difference in literary style with the previous charters is evident. The charter is signed by witnesses, but also by one of the conflicting parties. This was certainly not the rule in Carolingian judicial charters. The exact role of the person presiding over the court, Artold, probably the count of Lyon, remains unclear. But there is still a public official, a count, presiding, and a charter is issued, albeit not an elaborate one. There still seems to be a point in writing things down. Indeed, writing is an integral part of the ritual of transferring possession in court. However, we cannot associate this case of writing with an elaborate state trying to bring coercive elements into the legal system by the use of the written word. The disappearance of a state may have played a role in the disappearance of the use of the elaborate Carolingian formula for judicial charters. One possible explanation for the continued use of the written word in judicial matters may be that one important segment of society, the Church, continued to be well-acquainted with writing; the clergy understood and applied a legal

⁴² Others might prefer to speak of "oral law". However, as no speech is involved in such gestures as throwing a stick, "unwritten law" seems a preferable term. Cf. on definitions of "orality", Marco MOSTERT, "New Approaches to Medieval Communication?", in this volume, pp. 15-38.

⁴³ For a telling example, see Patrick J. GEARY, "Vivre en conflit dans une France sans état: Typologie des mécanismes de règlement des conflits (1050-1200)", *Annales ESC* 41 (1986), pp. 1107-1133. Note, however, that there are chronological problems with both theories as they are put forward by their supporters. Weitzel argues for a collapse of the Roman Empire, leading to the promotion of non-written consensual law. During the Carolingian period there was a revival of written and authoritative elements, which apparently disappear at the end of the ninth century. Things are only definitively changing again with the twelfth century. Some of the staunchest supporters of the "mutation féodale"-theory see a continuity of the institutions of the Roman Empire until the year 1000; Carolingian judicial institutions (with the inheritance of classical "literary" formulas) are seen to collapse at the end of the tenth century only. This difference is to a large extent caused by the fact that one group of scholars has its thoughts focused on France, and the other on Germany.

system based on authoritative written texts. This must have influenced secular court cases involving the Church.

It may be useful to sound a critical note about the alleged sudden rupture in the legal system around the year 1000. One should not exaggerate the difference between a Carolingian system of public courts directed by a centralist state forcing its decisions on the people on the one hand, and on the other a rather loose, anarchic society in which conflicts were simply arranged by agreement or else resolved by violent means. The Carolingian system, as we have seen, was also very much interested in reaching agreements which all parties to a dispute could accept. And let us also bear in mind that "consensus" between a powerful person and someone less powerful might often result in the most powerful party getting his way. The decisive balance of power hiding behind a Carolingian judicial charter remains more often than not hidden from view.⁴⁴ As more often than not "might makes right", there may not have been all that much difference after all.

A Bar-Fight in a Dijon Suburb

The next scene took place in a suburb of Dijon where, in the year 1066, Constantius "the Red", a servant of Robert, Duke of Burgundy, opened up shop in his house and started selling wine. The dependents of the monastery of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, however, considered this an infraction upon their privileges. They considered that they alone had the right to sell wine in this part of town. So they forbade Constantius to sell his wine. Perhaps they did not ask very politely, and apparently there were some men around in Red Constantius' pub, who—why not—had tasted just a little bit too much of the wine. Without too much imagination we might picture monastic officials trying to shut down a bar while the public and the owner, slightly heated by the wine, are by no means willing to leave quietly. Constantius started shouting and calling in more men, so the charter says, and they attacked the men of the monastery, who were merely defending themselves—again according to the charter. They apparently

⁴⁴ A point already noticed by NELSON, "Dispute settlement". See also the general remarks in BOUGARD, *La justice*, pp. 341-346, and Wendy DAVIES and Paul FOURACRE, "Conclusion", in: *The Settlement of Disputes*, pp. 228-240.

defended themselves well, because on both sides several people were killed and many more were wounded.⁴⁵

Following this outbreak of violence duke Robert, Constantius's lord, summoned the abbot of Saint-Bénigne to appear before him and started—again according to the charter—to demand damages for the incident. The abbot, however, refused to appear, because this would have meant an infringement of the rights of Saint-Bénigne himself. He would rather give up his abbacy! As if to underline his threat, he left for Langres to appeal to bishop Hugo. The bishop very much deplored what had happened and called a court to be held at the monastery of Bèze. To this court he summoned a large number of important dignitaries, including the archbishop of Besançon, the bishop of Autun, and count William of Burgundy, to name but a few. By involving these high-ranking persons, he apparently wanted the case to be treated and supported by as many powerful people as possible.

At Bèze, the case for Saint-Bénigne was presented. The abbot produced an impressive number of charters: papal privileges and royal precepts, issued by interventions of the bishops of Langres. Bishop Hugo read them out aloud. This was convincing enough—according to the charter. In whatever manner the decision was reached, the abbot of Saint-Bénigne received what he had come for. Duke Robert made amends, placing “with his own hands” (*propria manu*) the damages into the bishop's hands. Thereupon the bishop corroborated the rights of the abbey. Following this, duke Robert publicly stated “with his own mouth” (*propria ore*) that the abbey possessed the rights mentioned. The charter states that the duke's son, Henry, was present, and saw all this taking place, heard and applauded it. Finally, a large number of very important witnesses is mentioned, but they did not sign the charter.⁴⁶

This looks very much like a complete victory for those who presented written evidence. The case for the monastery seems to have been strong, as the charters they produced, royal precepts and papal privileges, were highly prestigious.⁴⁷ Moreover, the monastery apparently had influential supporters, such as

⁴⁵ Bèze, 17 March 1066, in: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300*, 2 (990-1124), ed. G. CHEVRIER and M. CHAUME (Dijon, 1943: *Analecta Burgundica*), No. 344, pp. 122-125.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123: “... privilegiis Romanorum Pontificum, preceptisque regum Francie intervenientibus sacre matris ecclesie Lingonensis presulibus ...”. The monks of Saint-Bénigne probably mustered a large number of charters to support their claim: papal bullae of Hormisdas, Johannes V, Sergius I and Benedictus VIII, royal charters of Guntchram and Chlotharius III, Charles the Bald, Raoul and Robert II. Many of these, however, were forgeries or contained interpolations (see the commentary in the edition, p. 123). The most recent royal charter, which

the bishop of Langres. Many of the important witnesses were abbots and bishops, who might very well be counted upon to apply some pressure to insure that the privileges of ecclesiastical establishments were upheld. Amidst all these people duke Robert had to give in. For everyone to be seen and heard he had to hand over the damages with his own hands, and to confirm the rights of Saint-Bénigne with his own mouth. Even his son Henry had to confirm all this as well. Yet their actions did not involve any writing. The charter itself, the original of which is preserved, has not been subscribed. There are visible signs on the parchment that it had been sealed later on. But who needed a charter of this case anyway, when there were already so many papal and royal charters proving the rights of Saint-Bénigne? What could a charter issued at a county court add to this? The charter was written, so says the arenga, to show that the holy Church always will prevail.⁴⁸ The text seems to record a warning to those who thought of infringing upon ecclesiastical rights and privileges. This charter has the character of a narrative text, written as if with a historiographical aim.

A Horse for a Duke and a Prayer for his Ancestor

Our next case provides us with some insights into what happened behind the scenes. It shows very clearly how a dispute was decided out of court. The dispute occurred in the year 1104, when the prior of Saint-Marcel of Chalon-sur-Saône tried to make the duke of Burgundy renounce rights he demanded on some serfs claimed by Saint-Marcel.⁴⁹ This case had already dragged on for a while, dating back as it did to the time of the predecessors of both prior and duke, and now the prior decided to settle things once and for all. He did not approach the duke, whose name was Hugo, directly, but waited for the right opportunity. This arrived when, on his way to a court-session, he offered hospitality to the duke. From him he managed to wrest the possibility of offering hospitality to the duke while he was on his way to a court-session. This was the opportunity the prior had waited for and he seized it with both hands. He started to address the important men in the duke's surroundings. The charter names them all: Iotcerannus, cantor of the church of Chalon; Rainer, the steward; Tescelinus nicknamed the Yellow; Bernard of Montfort; Warner of Sombornon;

is quoted in this judicial charter, is a charter of Robert II, probably of 1016 (ed. *ibid.*, No. 260, pp. 49-55).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴⁹ 1104, in: *The Cartulary of St.-Marcel-lès-Chalon*, ed. Constance Brittain BOUCHARD (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), No. 36, pp. 65-67.

Milo of Frôlois; Achard de Castellione; Hugo Canlardus; Rainald de Iussiac; Gotfrid and Frederic of Châtillon; Rotbert of Nui; and finally Oddo the *prepositus*. All of these men were the duke's counsellors.⁵⁰ After talking to them, the prior went to the duke himself and asked him if he would renounce his claims on the disputed rights. If he were to do so, he and his father would deserve God's forgiveness for their sins. The duke deliberated with his above-mentioned counsellors. He showed himself persuaded by the prior's arguments and promised to do what the prior wanted, but added that he would do this "on condition that he would receive some earthly reward in this world, and that in the future he and his father would acquire eternal reward".⁵¹ So the prior gave him a horse and two hundred solidi, and on top of this "something he wanted very much", the charter tells us, annual prayers for his father to be held in the church of Saint-Marcel by the prior and the brethren. All this was consented and confirmed.⁵²

What happened next was very much a staged public performance. It had hardly the formal characteristics of Carolingian-style court sessions, although the charter calls it a *placitum*. This word has many meanings, and could be used as the technical term for a court session.⁵³ The duke went to the church of the village where the disputed serfs lived. All the men mentioned above were present and would be able to testify to what was to happen. Standing before the altar, the duke renounced his legal rights on the men and women to be named in the charter, and on all their offspring. As audible and visible signs of this "he bent his knees before the altar, visible to everyone present, until they finished singing *Miserere mei Deus*, in order to receive absolution for his and his father's sins, and he lifted a book up and put it on the altar, while giving the kiss of peace and truth".⁵⁴

The charter recording the dispute and its outcome was written and confirmed later, at another place, in the room of the abbot of Dijon. The duke con-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66: "dixit se facturum quod prior expetebat, tali tamen tenore, ut in hoc saeculo aliquod terrenum munus susciperet, et in futurum pater eius et ipse aeternam mercedem adquirent".

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. For *placitum* and *placitus*, see *MLLM*, pp. 799-804. For the action between the prior, the duke and his retinue, the charter uses the adjective "*placito*" ("agreed") as well.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67: "ante altare stabat, videntibus cunctis qui aderant, genuflexo donec finiretur *Miserere mei Deus*, in absolutionem peccatorum suorum, et patris eius, susceptum librum posuit super altare, cum osculo pacis et veritatis".

firmed it and handed it over to the bishop of Lyon in the presence of a large number of important witnesses.⁵⁵

This is a fine example of a case decided by agreement. The number of people involved is astonishingly large. The negotiations must have taken up quite some time and effort. It is very clearly an agreement involving give and take: the duke did not renounce his claims for nothing, whether they might be right or wrong. He expected to be paid for it, in his afterlife, but also with tangible gifts. Charters are not produced as evidence. The act of renouncing the rights on the serfs is a public spectacle witnessed by many people, so nobody can harbour any doubts later on. In the ritual a written text plays a role, a book that is placed on the altar, but this is probably used as a religious rather than a legal symbol. Nevertheless, even if the ritual had been a public event, later on a charter was issued as well, and was publicly confirmed and handed over before witnesses, thus providing additional proof of the renunciation.

The Canons' Christmas Dinner

The Christmas of 1091 of the canons of Saint-Cyr at Nevers was totally ruined. They did not receive their usual Christmas dinner. It had been customary for the bishop of Nevers to offer the canons a meal twice a year, at All Saints and at Christmas. That year, however, he refused to provide the dinner at Christmas, for he was absent on a visit to the king's court. The canons of course did not accept this and took him to court. There it was proven by the testimony of the canons' and the bishop's men, that his predecessors used to give these meals even when they were absent themselves because they were visiting the king. The bishop then confirmed before the audience of all who were present that he had to provide for these meals twice a year even if he were absent. The charter mentions the people who "saw and heard" this. These witnesses were both laymen and clerics, thus it was not an exclusively ecclesiastical gathering.⁵⁶

This case does not look very important in itself, though it seems to have annoyed the canons considerably. The whole affair seems to have been settled without recourse to writing. The bishop made his statement in public in front of witnesses, and that was deemed enough. The charter is not corroborated or subscribed, nor is it stated who wrote it, when and where. But the arenga ex-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁶ Ca. 1091, in: *Cartulaire de Saint-Cyr de Nevers*, ed. R. DE LESPINASSE (Nevers and Paris, 1916), No. 98, pp. 164-165.

plains why the judgement has been put into writing: "Because the things that happened easily perish from knowledge unless they are brought back to memory by the admonitions of letters, we want to transmit what has happened in our times by writing to posterity".⁵⁷ This is of course a commonplace, known to Antiquity and also from older charters.⁵⁸ Nevertheless it fits the case very well and there is no reason to doubt that the author meant what he wrote. The charter has been written as a reminder of what happened, so that in future the rights of the canons to a happy Christmas dinner remain safeguarded.

A Letter from Jerusalem

Our last case is the last in time as well. In the year 1110 a dispute was decided between the monks of Fleury and the family holding the lordship over Toucy. The monks had complained for some time that the lords of Toucy demanded unlawful services, income and jurisdiction over the inhabitants of a village belonging to Fleury. In the meantime the lord of Toucy, Nariotus, had left on a crusade. While in the Holy Land he fell seriously ill and confessed his sins to the patriarch of Jerusalem. The patriarch explained that his penitence would be useless unless he would mend his ways and correct his wrongdoings. So Nariotus sent a letter to his wife, asking her to renounce the "bad customary rights" and duties she demanded from this village. His wife, however, did not renounce these rights and duties but increased them. The inhabitants of this village then complained to Humbald, bishop of Auxerre, and asked him to force Nariotus' wife to do as was ordered in the letter. Humbald, assisted by the

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164: "Quoniam res gestae facile a cognitione dilabantur nisi litterarum amminiculis ad memoriam reducantur, quod nostris factum est temporibus per scripturam ad posteros transmittere volumus".

⁵⁸ Classical authors providing this commonplace are, e.g. SENECA, *Ben.* VII,28,2, and PLINY, *H.N.* VII,24. See also AUGUSTINE, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, Preface, ed. J. FRAIPONT and D. DE BRUYNE (Turnhout, 1958: *CCSL* 33), p. 1; it is no direct quotation from either Seneca or Pliny, and might result from school training in Latin. For this commonplace in *arenga*, see: Heinrich FICHTEAU, *Arenga. Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformen* (Graz and Cologne, 1957: *MÖG Ergänzungsband* 18), pp. 131-137. An index of *arengae* can be found in Friedrich HAUSMANN and Alfred GAWLIK, *Arengenverzeichnis zu den Königs- und Kaiserurkunden von den Merowingern bis Heinrich VI* (München, 1987: *MGH Hilfsmittel* 9). Other contemporary examples: *Cartulaire de Saint-Cyr*, No. 73, p. 120; *Cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Langres*, ed. H. FLAMMARION (Nancy, 1995: *ARTEM*), No. 67, p. 89. One finds it in corroboration formulae as well; cf., e.g. *Die Urkunden Otto des III.*, ed. Theodor SICKEL (Berlin, 1893: *MGH DD, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* 2.2), No. 339 (2 December 999), pp. 767-769.

count of Nevers, forced her entire family to renounce their rights. This took place in the chapterhouse of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre, in front of witnesses who were mentioned in the charter, but did not sign.⁵⁹ The most important emphasis in this charter lies in its corroboration by Humbald with "the seal of his authority", which ought to prevent anyone from reclaiming the abandoned rights.⁶⁰

Two things stand out in this charter. First, the argument of a written text, which is not a charter but an unofficial letter from a layman to his wife. Secondly, there is the dominant role of the seal as proof, taking the place of the subscription. The combination of the text of the charter and its seal is used as with royal charters. Here, unlike other cases we have discussed, a subscription is lacking. The seal had become the most important element of visible and audible proof, which made abundantly clear why charters were issued and how they were used.⁶¹

Provisional Conclusions

Drawing conclusions based upon such a small amount of evidence is hazardous. Hence our conclusions can only be preliminary. For the time being the following seems to be clear: charters, when available, could play an important role in making an argument prevail in court, not only by their words, but also by their public display. But they are never an infallible, definitive argument. They were most often reinforced by other means of proof, and could almost always be challenged.

The use of charters as evidence shows a wide range of possibilities. At one end of the scale they are not used at all, as in the case of bishop Boso and his

⁵⁹ Auxerre, 1110, in: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. M. PROU and A. VIDIER, 1 (Paris, 1907: Documents publiés par la société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais 5), No. 107, pp. 267-269.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269: "Ut autem nec ipsis nec successoribus eorum ea que indulta sunt ulla sit denuo repetendi libertas, rogaverunt nos predicti fratres sigillo nostre auctoritatis hanc corroborare remissionis cartam".

⁶¹ For the use of sealed charters by bishops, see Robert-Henri BAUTIER, "Apparition, diffusion et évolution typologique du sceau épiscopal au moyen-âge", in: *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250—La diplomatique épiscopale avant 1250. Referate zum VIII. internationalen Kongreß für Diplomatik*, ed. Christoph HAIDACHER and Werner KÖFLER (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 225-241; Peter JOHANEK, "Zur rechtlichen Funktion von Traditionsnotiz, Traditionsbuch und früher Siegelurkunde", in: *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, pp. 131-162; Corrections of dates by Peter WEISS, *Frühe Siegelurkunden in Schwaben (10.-12. Jahrhundert)* (Marburg, 1997: *Elementa diplomatica* 6).

pigs. Then, there are charters that function as additional arguments in court, as in the case against the "tree-killing" Hildebermus and in the case of bishop Waldo against the monks of Sankt Gallen. The evidence of these charters can be challenged by the opposing party, even if, as in the case of Waldo, they are royal charters. Sometimes charters are the sole argument, as in the cases of Walaradus and of Hugo, both regarding property claims. They may be challenged and sometimes the argument of the charter wins the day, as in the case of Walaradus. Sometimes one loses despite charter evidence, as in the case of Hugo. With the production of massive charter evidence in court, as was done by the monks of Saint-Bénigne in their case against duke Robert of Burgundy, we arrive at the other end of the scale. It certainly did ensure the victory of Saint-Bénigne. However, the monks took care to produce these charters in a court session attended by many lay and clerical authorities. They must have helped them in constraining duke Robert to fulfil his promises to abide by the privileges as stated in Saint-Bénigne's charters. The actual outcome of a case often seems to rely not merely on the production of arguments, but rather on the power the different parties can exercise and on negotiations between them.

Transferring property does not seem to rely on writing in Carolingian court cases, although the transfer of possessions outside court was probably quite a different matter. In the eleventh century, writing or handing over a charter can play a role in the transfer of property, as is shown by the property transfers by Gauzbertus to Cluny and by duke Hugo to Saint-Marcel-lès-Chalon. In both cases we are dealing with actions of give-and-take. In exchange for the handing over of their possessions Gauzbertus receives an amount of money, and duke Hugo a horse and prayers for his ancestor. The act of handing over by writing is in both cases preceded by a public act of abandonment that does not involve writing.

From the eleventh century onwards, the format of the charters becomes more varied and so, it seems, does their use. Until about the year 1000, judicial charters are handed over to be produced as arguments in future litigation—or to prevent litigation. They are drawn up by public scribes at county courts and are signed by witnesses. Hence there is always recourse to non-written evidence, that of witnesses, as well. Later on, the parties involved sometimes subscribe the charters as well. Sometimes the witnesses do not subscribe, but are merely mentioned. These changes coincide with an increase in the amount of judicial charters extant, at least for Burgundy. Finally, the seal, another element confirming the charter's content, increasingly comes to be used. Until then, the seal had only been used for royal and papal charters.

A very preliminary, and not very surprising, conclusion might be that we witness an increase in the use of the written word, at least in Burgundy, from which most charters presented here originate. Whether the pattern will look different when other areas have been taken into account remains to be seen. To reach a more sharply focused picture of the developments that have taken place, the changing fortunes of several hundreds of people in their efforts to secure their possessions and status will have to be scrutinized as closely as possible.

Between the Imperial and the Sacred: The Gesture of Coronation in Carolingian and Ottonian Images

MARIËLLE HAGEMAN

Introduction

The emperor Otto I has appointed Bruno, his brother, bishop of Cologne. Tempted by evil advisors, Bruno one day decides to give his brother-in-law Hugues the Empire, by presenting him with a crown decorated with precious stones: "cum corona artificiose gemmata regnum ipso committere".¹ When, on Easter day, the *regalia* have been prepared for the ceremony, God fills the bishop with remorse. He asks his secretary for advice. The secretary is enlightened by God and comes up with a plan: he will pretend to offer the crown to Hugues, but then slip and let the crown smash on the floor. So it is done. After the crown is broken, the coronation is cancelled and Hugues leaves disappointed with only a few minor gifts. This story, told by the eleventh-century chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg, shows the importance that could be attached to the object of the crown. The crown, the coronation, and God's involvement with them were apparently considered important elements in the legitimization of power. In this anecdote they are even constitutive, as without them Hugues cannot become king. The gesture of coronation proves all-important.

¹ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, II, c. 23, ed. Robert HOLTZMANN, tr. Werner TRILLMICH, *Thietmar von Merseburg, Chronik* (Darmstadt, 1957: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 9), pp. 58-59.

Medieval sources often show us the importance of non-verbal means of communication such as gestures. It is on such non-verbal communication that my research within the Pionier Project "Verschriftelijking" focuses. More specifically I am interested in the non-verbal rituals of the Carolingian and Ottonian rulers: the attitudes and gestures surrounding these monarchs, as they are represented in the visual arts and in written sources. A gesture can be defined as a movement of the body or part of the body through which a person, intentionally or not, expresses a thought, emotion or disposition or creates a certain impression. Lack of movement, too, i.e. a certain attitude or arrangement of persons, can be understood as "body language" and be meaningful.

The written and pictorial sources for the study of medieval attitudes and gestures cannot be considered to represent all gestures and rituals as they actually took place. They often give us only limited information about gestures. Moreover, they were manufactured with a specific, often political purpose that influenced the rendering of the gestures. Attitudes and gestures are manipulated with the aim of giving us an image of the ruler. In written texts, an action or event can be described without mentioning the attitudes and gestures involved. It is primarily in pictorial images that they play a crucial part. There, a public figure such as a king is always represented in a definite attitude and usually makes a definite, formalized gesture. If he does not make a gesture, the absence of the gesture can be telling as well. This article will focus on such images.

The first, and maybe most important, gesture surrounding the medieval ruler is that of the coronation. Several authors have written about the medieval ritual of coronation. Usually they concentrate on coronation-*ordines* and on reconstructing a coronation ceremony and tracing its origins.² Here we will concentrate on the way the coronation is represented in the visual arts. Several images of the monarch's crowning have been handed down to us from Carolingian and Ottonian times. Apparently, it did not always suffice to give a person the name of king or emperor, or to depict him simply as such, by having him wear a crown. Through a gesture the transference of the crown, of power, was made visible. We may start our discussion of the iconography of this gesture by considering an image of the Coronation of the Virgin.

² Janos M. BAK, *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990). Eduard EICHMANN, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1942). Cornelis Adrianus BOUMAN, *Sacring and Crowning* (Groningen and Djakarta, 1957). Robert-Henri BAUTIER, "Sacres et couronnements sous les carolingiens et les premiers capétiens. Recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français", *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, année 1987 (published 1989), pp. 7-56. Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1968-1970).

Bernward of Hildesheim and the Coronation of the Virgin

The crown as a symbol of majesty is already found in the Bible. However, the holy book, being sparing of information about the mother of Christ, does not tell us about the Coronation of the Virgin. Yet during the Middle Ages Mary's Coronation seems to have been a motif of veneration and exaltation, expressed in homilies, hymns, and the liturgy. The theme did not become very popular in the visual arts until the twelfth century, when the devotion to the Virgin assumed large proportions. From then on, we find depictions of Mary being crowned by Christ, God or the Trinity. Sometimes angels holding a crown float above her head, but they never actually crown her.³

A miniature in Bernward of Hildesheim's so-called "kostbare Evangeliar" or Precious Gospels,⁴ from about 1015, shows the Virgin Mary, enthroned frontally before an arched gallery and dressed as an empress, being crowned by two angels flanking her throne, probably Gabriel and Michael (Plate 1). Mary holds the Christ Child on her lap with her left hand. Both the Virgin and the Child extend their right hands towards the left-hand page, to receive the book being offered there. On that page, Bernward himself appears in episcopal garb, placing a richly ornamented book, probably this Gospel Book, on an altar, on which stand a golden chalice and paten.⁵ Several inscriptions accompany the image.⁶ The miniature is special in more than one respect. It is the earliest known image of the Coronation of the Virgin⁷ and a very rare depiction of the

³ Henk W. VAN OS, "Krönung Mariens", *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert KIRSCHBAUM, 2 (Rome etc., 1970), pp. 671-672. Philippe VERDIER, *Le couronnement de la Vierge. Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Paris and Montreal, 1980).

⁴ MS Hildesheim, Domschatz, 18, f. 17r.

⁵ Francis J. TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. II. His Works of Art* (Notre Dame, 1952), p. 45: "An attempt was doubtless made to represent the bishop as he appeared, beardless, black-haired and tonsured".

⁶ The border of the Bernward page (f.16v): "Hoc evangelicu(m) devota m(en)te libellum; virginitatis amor p(rae)stat tibi s(an)c(t)a Maria; praesul Bernward(us) vix solo nomine dignus; ornatus tanti vestitu pontificali". Connected with this, on the arch of the Mary page one reads (f.17r): "Offert Chr(ist)e tibi s(an)c(t)aeq(ue) tue genetrici. On the three lesser golden arches: Ave stella maris karismate lucida p(ro)lis, ave spiritui s(an)c(t)o templu(m) reservatu(m), ave porta D(e)i post partu(m) clausa p(er) evu(m)". At the left is an open door, with a medallion picture of Mary over it, and at the right a closed door, with a picture of Eve. The wings of the doors bear the words: "Porta paradisi primaeva(m) clausa per Aevam; nunc est per s(an)c(t)am cunctis patefacta Maria(m)". The upper border of the miniature carries the verse: "Hoc sermone D(eu)m concepit et edidit illu(m)"; the lower: "Virgo D(e)i genetrix Gabrihelis credula dictis".

⁷ In the Aethelwold Benedictional (MS London, British Library, Additional 49598; facsimile: *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester 963-984*, ed. George f.

theme, with two angels placing the crown on Mary's head. The iconography is, as we shall see, closely connected with imperial imagery, with depictions of imperial and royal coronations of Bernward's time and of the preceding centuries. To explain the image, we should first look at the man who must have invented the iconographical programme, Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim from 993 until his death in 1022. He was one of the most important medieval patrons of the arts that we know of.⁸

Bernward's Gospel Book was probably made at the time of the consecration of the crypt of St. Michael's, the monastic church building work on which had started under Bernward's patronage in the year 1010. In 1013 the finished parts of the church were dedicated to the archangel Michael. In 1015 the crypt of St. Michael's was consecrated, and an altar was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It is probably to this altar that Bernward is offering the manuscript in the miniature and, through it, to the Virgin herself.⁹ "Stifterdarstellungen" like these are relatively common in Ottonian book illumination. However, we rarely find them spread over two pages. In this respect the miniature can be compared to the dedication miniature in a Gospel Book from Seon, showing Henry II offering a book to the Virgin in the facing page.¹⁰ We will encounter the two-page composition again in a coronation image of Otto III. Since Bernward is not prostrating himself before the Virgin, the miniature shows similarities with dedication portraits of Otto III and Henry II, rulers to whom Bernward was particularly close.

As his biographer, probably Thangmar, tells us, Bernward was born around 960 in a noble Saxon family. He belonged to the small ruling elite, which held

WARNER and Henry A. WILSON (Oxford, 1910: *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club, London* 156)), however, we find the hand of God handing down a crown from heaven at the moment of the Virgin's death, and in eleventh-century manuscripts from Salzburg the same motif is found at Mary's presentation in the temple (*Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward*, ed. M. BRANDT (Munich, 1993), pp. 27-30).

⁸ The *vita* names several works of art and precious liturgical objects, made for the Carolingian cathedral; all this was lost during the fires of 1013 and 1046, during the following reconstruction, or the centuries afterwards. Some works of art of course do survive, such as the famous doors of Hildesheim or Bernward's candlestick. See Hans Jakob SCHUFFELS, "Bernward Bischof von Hildesheim. Eine biographische Skizze", in: *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993), 1, pp. 29-46, at pp. 32-33, and Francis J. TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. I. His Life and Times* (Notre Dame, 1942).

⁹ A different interpretation argues that the book was originally meant for the cathedral of Hildesheim, which was dedicated to the Virgin. It would have been on the high altar of this cathedral that Bernward places the manuscript. See, e.g. Josef NOWAK, *Bernward von Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1982), pp. 70-71 and Francis J. TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 1, p. 36.

¹⁰ MS Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 95, ff. 7v-8r.

both secular and ecclesiastical power.¹¹ His family had been on good terms with the imperial court for several generations. Bernward himself joined the court of emperor Otto II and the Byzantine princess Theophanu as a boy, first as an "aulicus scriba doctus", a learned court-writer, as he himself tells us, then, after Otto II had died, as the teacher of the young Otto III. Bernward remained closely connected to the court during his entire life, even after he had become bishop of Hildesheim in 993.¹² His biographer paints a picture of a loving relation between Bernward and Otto III, also after the latter had become emperor. When Bernward came to Rome in the year 1000 to seek the emperor's support in a conflict with the archbishop of Mainz over Gandersheim, Otto immediately chose his side. The emperor received Bernward honourably. When he heard of Bernward's coming, Otto left his palace on the Aventine to meet his former teacher at Saint Peter's, a distance of about two Roman miles. After affectionate greetings the bishop went to the lodgings the emperor had provided in advance for his comfort. The next morning Bernward was to enjoy further evidence of the esteem in which he was held. When he reached Otto's palace, both pope and emperor were there to greet him, and Otto insisted that the bishop occupy quarters near his palace on the Aventine.¹³ Bernward in turn showed his affection for the emperor by supporting him during the siege of Tivoli; he also fought at Otto's side against the revolting Romans, while holding the holy lance.¹⁴

After Otto's death and the troubles surrounding his succession, Bernward gained the support of the new ruler, Henry II. Although Bernward did not support Henry's candidacy for the succession of Otto III from the start, the two were on good terms eventually. In the spring of 1003 Henry travelled about in Saxony. He visited monasteries and shrines boasting venerable relics, and won over any bishops and abbots not yet perfectly reconciled to his rule. He showed Bernward a sign of his favour by coming to Hildesheim some days before Palm Sunday, 21 March. Before leaving Hildesheim he gave large sums to the cathedral and its canons and promised much more if God blessed him in his endeavours. Afterwards, Bernward supported Henry in his attempts to reform the Church, and Henry granted Bernward royal protection and privileges for his

¹¹ However, many details about Bernward's parentage remain unknown. See TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 1, pp. 1-6.

¹² SCHUFFELS, "Bernward", pp. 29-31.

¹³ Thangmar (?), *Vita Sancti Bernwardi*, cc. 19-22, ed. Georg Heinrich PERTZ and tr. Hatto KALLFELZ, in: *Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hatto KALLFELZ (Darmstadt, 1973: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 22), pp. 306-317.

¹⁴ Thangmar (?), *Vita Sancti Bernwardi*, cc. 23-25, pp. 316-321.

foundation, the church of St. Michael's. In the end, Berward was to be found even more often with Henry than he had been with Otto.¹⁵

Bernward thus moved in the imperial circles of his time. On his visits to Rome, he also came into close contact with the remains of the antique Roman Empire. Bernward's stay in Rome when Otto so clearly showed his affection for the bishop of Hildesheim, was also very important for Bernward's patronage of the arts. Formerly his impressions of the antique had been for the most part indirect, through the Church and through Carolingian art. Now Bernward could look directly upon the glories of the ancient world with his own eyes.¹⁶ The art of Italy must have impressed him. It certainly left its traces in the miniature in his Gospel Book.

Bernward had long cherished a special veneration for the Holy Virgin. The cathedral of Hildesheim was dedicated to the Virgin, as was the altar of the crypt of St. Michael's. One of the first wooden statues of a frontal Virgin and Child was commissioned by Bernward. Mary played an important role on the famous doors of Hildesheim as well. In our miniature it is to the Holy Virgin that Bernward offers the Gospel Book. Another image of the Virgin Mary is found on the back cover of the book, made in Bernward's workshop. It shows a Byzantine Mary and Child of the Hodegetria type, with the inscription: "Hoc opus eximium Bernwardi praesulis arte factum cerne deus, mater et alma tua".¹⁷ In Italy Bernward found the models for a truly imperial depiction of his patron saint. Already in the fifth century, the imperial iconography influenced the depiction of the Virgin Mary in the Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore. In scenes depicting the childhood of Christ, the Virgin is represented as an Augusta, and the adoration of the Magi is interpreted as an imperial audience. The type of depiction of the Virgin and Child, enthroned frontally and dressed in the jewel-studded attire of a Byzantine empress wearing a crown, is an image we find especially in Rome. Angels serve as the Virgin's heavenly companions on both sides of the throne. It is often associated with Western court circles.¹⁸ It has been suggested that the motif originated in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and that it is in fact a reduced Adoration of the Magi. One of the oldest surviving precursors of the image is the sixth-century icon from the Sinai, a foundation with close ties with Constantinople, which

¹⁵ TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 1, pp. 126-127.

¹⁶ TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 1, p. 111.

¹⁷ *Die Handschriften im Domschatz zu Hildesheim*, descriptions by Marlis STAHLI, c. Helmar HARTL (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 19.

¹⁸ In Byzantine art of the period, on the other hand, Mary is never shown wearing a crown.

shows Mary on a throne flanked by angels.¹⁹ The iconographical prototype can therefore be found within the sphere of influence of imperial Constantinople.

Several ivory diptychs show us the Virgin and Child enthroned between angels opposite Christ, who is enthroned between the apostles Peter and Paul (a theme that will be of interest later, when we discuss the coronation represented in the so-called Bamberg Apocalypse). The chief angels and the most important among the apostles flank Mary and Christ respectively. There are striking similarities between these ivories and the so-called consular diptychs depicting a Roman consul flanked by two lictors or by personifications of Rome and Constantinople. The origins of both are probably to be found in imperial iconography. The formula was employed, for example, on medallions of Constantine, where the emperor is shown seated on a high-backed throne between two bodyguards.²⁰ Ruler portraits with flanking attendants, either military or civilian, are subsequently found in early medieval art. In a Gospel Book produced at Tours between 849 and 851, the emperor Lothar is depicted between two bodyguards (Plate 2).²¹ The imperial formula of the enthroned ruler flanked by arms-bearers was also adopted in early Christian representations of biblical monarchs. In the Vienna Genesis, for example, Pharaoh is shown with two bodyguards.²² King David was also provided with bodyguards. On the ivory cover of the Dagulph Psalter, produced at Aachen at the end of the eighth century and now in the Louvre, David is flanked by arms-bearers in two scenes. In the Utrecht Psalter he is shown repeatedly with bodyguards, as is Saul.²³ The Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura applies the formula to Pharaoh, David, Solomon and Holofernes.²⁴

The first occurrences of majestic insignia in representations of the Virgin Mary, however, are not to be found in either Rome or Constantinople, but in the northern imperial residence of Ravenna. In this city, when the imperial palace was being built, elements from the antique imperial cult were given a new, Christian application. A mosaic in Theodoric's former palace basilica, now S. Apollinare Nuovo, shows us the Virgin and Child, enthroned between angels, acting in ceremonial roles. On the facing wall is an image of Christ between angels. Once again Mary is placed opposite the *Maiestas Domini*, in what we

¹⁹ John BECKWITH, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (New Haven and London, 1979), pp. 37-38, 92-93, and Plates 22, 75.

²⁰ Maria R. ALFÖLDI, *Die Constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz, 1963), Plates 16 and 17.

²¹ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 266, f. 1v.

²² MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Theol. Gr. 31.

²³ MS Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32. See: *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. Koert VAN DER HORST, William NOEL and Wilhelmina c. M. WÜSTEFELD (Utrecht, 1996).

²⁴ Herbert L. KESSLER, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 127-129.

might call a *Maiestas Mariae*. The first image that can truly be called a *Maria Regina*, however, is found in Rome. It is a fresco in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua that can be dated to the early eighth century, the time when pope John VII stimulated a new devotion to the Holy Virgin.²⁵ The angels are performing the ceremony of the *aurum coronarium*, a ceremony that was connected to that of the coronation. In this late antique ceremony the Roman citizens or people from other states honoured the ruler by bringing him gifts such as crowns and garlands decorated with precious stones. We will encounter this antique imperial ritual again in Carolingian and Ottonian images of the ruler. According to one study, Bernward must have misunderstood the ancient ceremony and therefore turned it into a coronation for the dedication miniature of his Gospel Book.²⁶

Although similar images may have been available, Bernward cannot have seen the fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua, for by the eleventh century the wall had been repainted by a Byzantine artist. The surviving image that comes closest to Bernward's miniature is an icon in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, most likely also painted during John VII's pontificate (Plate 3). John may be the pope prostrating himself at the feet of the Divine group. Here we find the Virgin and Child invested with imperial attributes enthroned between angels. Mary sits on a cushion; the throne is decorated with gems. The Virgin wears the attire of a Byzantine empress: a purple dress and precious stones. She originally held a crosier in her right hand. The Christ child on her lap holds a scroll in his left hand while blessing the prostrated pope who seizes Mary's foot with his right hand.²⁷

Roman images such as these must have influenced Bernward's idea for the miniature. On his journey through Italy, however, Bernward must have seen other works of art that may have exerted their influence. An Exultet Roll from Benevento²⁸ for example, datable between 981 and 987, shows us a standing ruler being crowned by two flanking angels (Plate 4),²⁹ the ruler being either the emperor, a Longobard king, or representing rulership in general.³⁰ This impres-

²⁵ Carlo BERTELLI, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere. Storia-iconografia-stile di un dipinto romano dell'ottavo secolo* (Rome, 1961), pp. 57-58.

²⁶ *Das kostbare Evangeliar*, pp. 28-29.

²⁷ *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, 2, p. 138, III-17.

²⁸ MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9820, fragment XVIII. See: *Exultet-Rolle. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe in Originalgröße des Codex Vaticanus latinus 9820 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. Herbert DOUTIL and Felix VONGREY, 2 vols. (Graz, 1974-1975: *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice (quam simillime) expressi ... Series maior* 35).

²⁹ Other Exultet Rolls show similar images representing secular authorities.

³⁰ *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*, ed. Guglielmo CAVALLI (Rome, 1994)

sive work of art was probably cherished by the Beneventan archbishop as a status symbol. It is plausible that it was shown to an important visitor like Bernward.³¹ Rather than believing that Bernward misinterpreted a depiction of the Virgin Mary receiving the *aurum coronarium*, we may consider the hypothesis that he purposely used elements of a different, though related, traditions to exalt his Patroness in a unique way: that of the imperial coronation.

Just as the image of the enthroned and flanked Virgin can be traced back to the antique imperial iconography which was reused from Carolingian times onwards, so the coronation of the ruler has its origins in the Roman Empire. It played an important role in contemporary imperial culture, and is to be found in the dedication miniatures of books produced for kings and emperors. Bernward moved in court circles and must have been familiar with these imperial books and their iconography.

Late Antique Origins of the Coronation

The imperial coronation and its depiction in the visual (and literary) arts originated in late Antiquity. Crown and garland were originally symbols of victory and power. The coronation ceremony originated in the celebration of victory, in the crowning of the victorious leader with a garland. Later, crowning with a garland was used by the Roman army to acclaim a new emperor.³² Sabine MacCormack has shown how the coronation developed into the ceremony marking the beginning of rule.³³ Different aspects legitimizing the power of a ruler could be stressed in the representation of the ceremony. In accounts of the accession of Constantine, we find that a ruler might be designated by his predecessor and by Divine inspiration. The same arguments can be found in medieval sources. In stories about Constantine's accession, we find a growing emphasis on the accession ceremony and with it emphasis on the imperial insignia. From 325 onwards, Constantine is depicted on coins wearing a diadem. It became one of the imperial insignia. Whereas previously the imperial insignia had been created *ad hoc* for each separate occasion, now they received sacral mean-

pp. 101-118.

³¹ Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen 2, pp. 277-279, v-17.

³² Andreas ALFOLDI, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich* (Darmstadt, 1977), p. 173.

³³ Sabine MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 173-183.

ing. The transmission of the insignia from one emperor to the next became part of the accession ceremony.³⁴

When the Empire became Christian, the heathen gods crowning the emperor were replaced in the iconography. The hand of God, e.g. could be used, although the neutral image of the coronation by Victory persisted as well. A golden 30 solidi coin from 330 minted at Constantinople shows us Constantine between Constantinus II and Constantius II being crowned by the hand of God appearing from a cloud. Constantinus II is crowned by Victory, Constantius by Virtue (Plate 5). In this image we encounter characteristics of the ruler image already discussed. Constantine is depicted frontally and is flanked by the other figures. His importance and his central position in the Empire are shown by his larger proportions and his place in the centre.³⁵ The methods used on this coin to create the image of the emperor are characteristic of late antique art: centralisation, frontal composition, and the use of different dimensions.³⁶ Symmetry became an important principle in imperial art, both antique and medieval. We found it in Bernward's Coronation of the Virgin and will find it repeatedly in Carolingian and Ottonian art.

The emphasis in this coin is on God, victory and virtue. The crowning gesture by the hand of God is new. It confirms that Constantine receives his power directly from God. It is not so much the moment of the coronation that is depicted, but the lasting contact with God, confirming Constantine's rule. Here we find the first occurrence of the religious legitimization of the emperor's power by a coronation.³⁷ Swarzenski has pointed out, referring to a similar Ottonian depiction of a divine coronation, that it is not clear whether such an image shows the ruler receiving his power from God, or whether we should regard it as an expression of the idea that the ruler is protected by God. This second idea is also expressed in images in which the hand of God appears over the ruler without a crown.³⁸ It is possible that both thoughts are expressed through the coronation gesture.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, the accession of the Byzantine emperors, the successors of the Roman emperors, became marked by both military and ecclesiastical coronations.³⁹ Only in the ninth century did the coronation develop in the East into a truly ecclesiastical ceremony presided over by the patriarch. A

³⁴ MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony*, pp. 173-183.

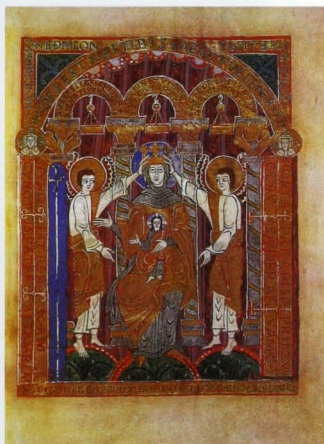
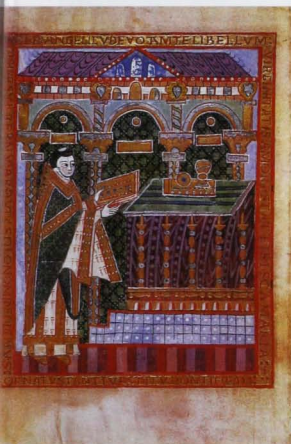
³⁵ MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony*, pp. 188-189.

³⁶ MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony*, p. 190.

³⁷ ALFÖLDI, *Die monarchische Repräsentation*, pp. 173-174.

³⁸ Georg SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1969²), p. 73.

³⁹ ALFÖLDI, *Die monarchische Repräsentation*, p. 171.



Pl. 1 *Kostbare Evangeliar* of Bernward of Hildesheim, ff. 16v-17r.
Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Schatz der Kathedralkirche,
Hs. 18.



Pl. 2 Gospel Book of the Emperor Lothar I, f. 1v.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 266.



Pl. 3 *Icon of Maria Regina.*
Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere.



Pl. 4 Exultet Roll.
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9820, fragment XVIII.



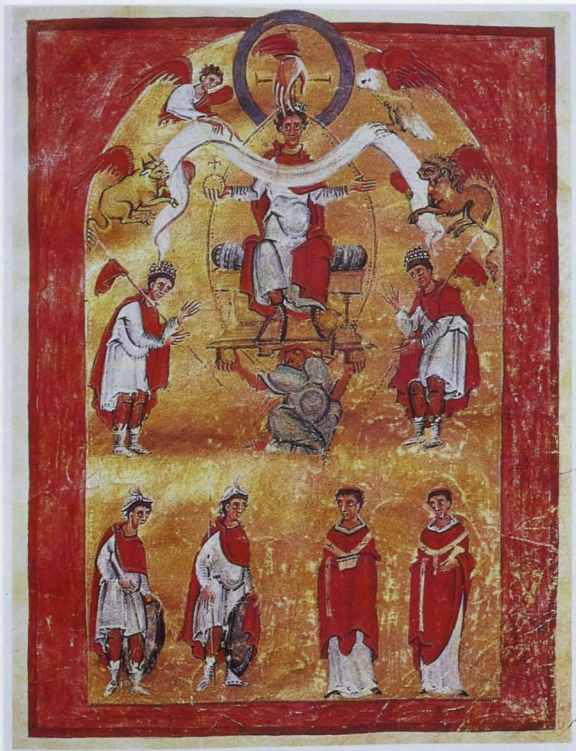
Pl. 5 Coin depicting the coronation of Constantine.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett.



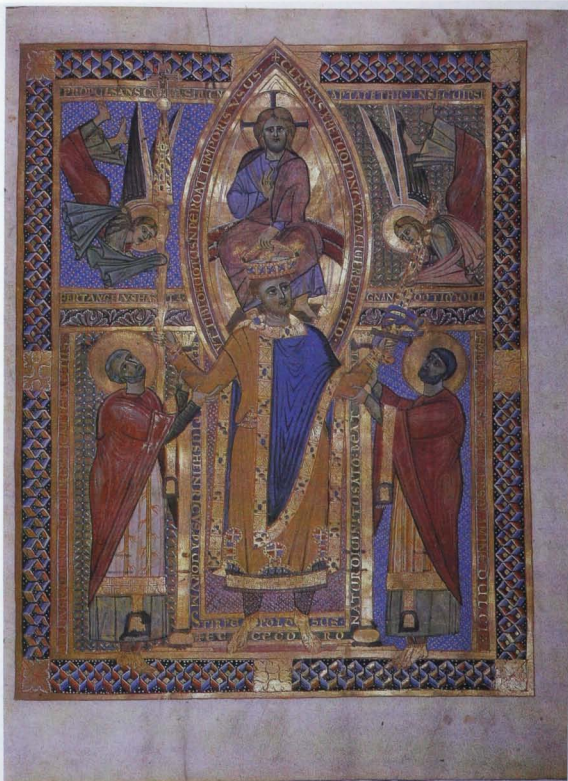
Pl. 6 Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea, f. 2r.
Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. LXXXVI.



Pl. 7 Sacramentary of Metz, f. 2v.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1141.



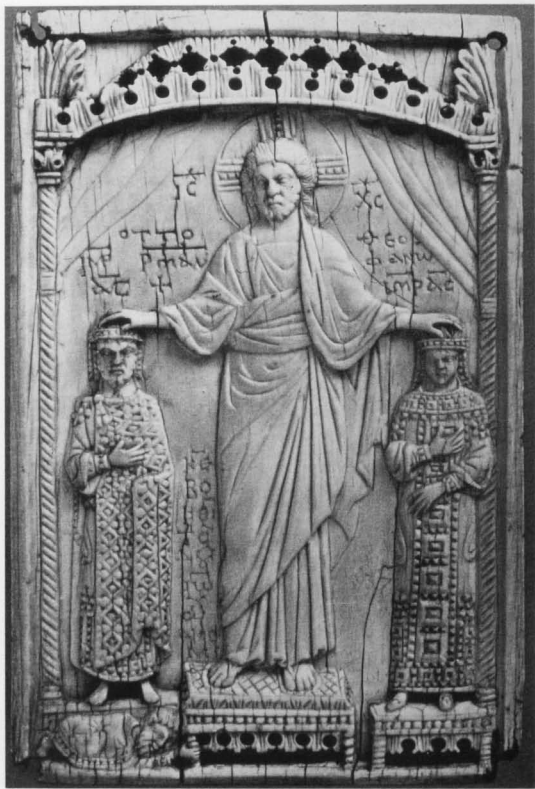
Pl. 8 Liuthar Gospels, f. 16r.
Aachen, Domschatz.



Pl. 9 Sacramentary of Henry II, f. 11r.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.



Pl. 10 Pericope Book of Henry II, f. 2r.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4452.



Pl. 11 Ivory image of the coronation of Otto II and Theophanu.
Paris, Musée de Cluny, No. 1035.



Pl. 12 Bamberg Apocalypse, f. 59v.
Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 140.



Pl. 13 Schaffhausen Pontifical, f. 29 r.
Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Cod. 94.

fixed iconographical type then comes into existence: the emperor is crowned by the hand of God, by Christ or by the Virgin. These coronation images express the same thought that is to be found in the coronation ceremony. They do not just refer to the ceremony but are an official representation of the theory that the monarch rules through Christ.⁴⁰

The Coronation in the Metz Sacramentary

In the West it was also in the ninth century that the coronation increasingly gained importance. Although Charlemagne and his sons Pippin and Louis had already received the "royal diadem" from pope Hadrian in 781,⁴¹ the first and maybe most famous Carolingian imperial coronation is that of Charlemagne on Christmas Day of the year 800.⁴² During the ninth century we find increasing emphasis on the crown and the coronation ceremony.⁴³ The crown gains ever more importance as a "Herrschaftszeichen". We find, e.g. that an Old Testament king like David starts being depicted wearing a crown,⁴⁴ as is Charles the Bald. It is from the time of this ruler that the first surviving coronation-*ordines* date.⁴⁵ Depictions and descriptions of Constantine's coronation seem to have been very important to the authors of medieval texts and images. In texts describing the imperial coronation of Louis the Pious, for example, we find emphasis on exactly the two elements we have encountered in the legitimization of authority in late Antiquity, and more specifically in the story of Constantine's accession: descent and divine appointment. For Louis was first crowned by his father in 813, and then by the pope in 816. In his panegyric addressed to Louis the Pious, Ermoldus Nigellus explicitly mentions a connection with Constantine the Great. He says that the crown that pope Stephen IV brought from Rome for the coronation once had belonged to this first Christian emperor.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ André GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936; reprint London, 1971), pp. 112-121.

⁴¹ BAUTIER, "Sacres et couronnements".

⁴² Robert FOLZ, *Le couronnement impérial de Charlemagne. 25 décembre 800*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1989).

⁴³ BAUTIER, "Sacres et couronnements", pp. 7-56.

⁴⁴ Hugo STEGER, *David Rex et Propheta. König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter, nach Bild Darstellungen des achten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg, 1961).

⁴⁵ Guy LANOË, "L'ordo de couronnement de Charles le Chauve à Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (6 juin 848)", in: *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. DUGGAN (London, 1993), pp. 41-68.

⁴⁶ Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen elegiacum in honorem Hludowici caesaris*, vv. 1076-1077, ed.

In the visual arts, it was the image of Constantine's coronation by the hand of God that was particularly important to the medieval iconographic tradition. A reflection of the Constantinian prototype can be found in the Metz Sacramentary (Plate 7), in which a strong classical influence can be noticed.⁴⁷ This manuscript is unique in that it shows us the only Carolingian depiction of the crowning of a contemporary ruler.⁴⁸ It is a fragment of a very elaborately decorated sacramentary, with lavish use of gold, rich acanthus borders and backgrounds, and frames with simulated inset jewels. The sacramentary is often said to have been made for the occasion of Charles the Bald's coronation as king of Lotharingia in 869. Only the introductory miniatures survive. At the beginning of the manuscript a ruler is depicted between two bishops. The hand of God hands down a crown from heaven. On the facing page, Gregory the Great is seen receiving inspiration from the Holy Spirit in the guise of a dove. Divine investitures with temporal and ecclesiastical authority are thus juxtaposed.⁴⁹ The secular ruler and the pope (depicted here as writer) are shown on facing pages, as in a dedication miniature.⁵⁰ It is a combination similar to the one found in the dedication pages of Bernward's gospels, and one we will encounter again in other Ottonian manuscripts.

On folio 2v three standing figures are depicted, conversing through their gestures. Two bishops, to be recognized by their clothes, both with a nimbus and holding a book in their left hand while making a gesture of speech with their right hand, flank a central ruler. This ruler has a nimbus too.⁵¹ He is dressed in a tunic, a chlamys, puttees and high footwear. His leg-wear and beardlessness set him

and tr. Edmond FARAL, *Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris, 1932: *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge*), pp. 84-85.

⁴⁷ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1141. See: *Sakramentar von Metz. Fragment, Ms. Lat. 1141 Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe*, ed. Florentine MÜTHERICH (Graz, 1972: *Codices selecti phototypice impressi* 28).

⁴⁸ Crowns are shown being offered to Charles the Bald, though, on the so-called Cathedra Sancti Petri in the Vatican, in what may be called a depiction of the antique ceremony of the *aurum coronareum*. Moreover, in the image of Louis the Pious in Hrabanus Maurus's *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, the coronation by Christ is referred to by the words inscribed in Louis's halo (see the facsimile of MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 625, written at Mainz or Fulda after AD 847, ed. Kurt HOLTER, 2 vols. (Graz, 1972: *Codices selecti phototypice impressi* 33)). Also, images of the coronation of biblical rulers by the hand of God exist, as, for example, the coronation of King David in the Stuttgart Psalter (MS Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, bibl. fol. 23, written ca. 820-830 at St. Germain-des-Prés; see: *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, ed. Bernhard BISCHOFF, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1965)).

⁴⁹ Robert G. CALKINS, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London, 1983), p. 177.

⁵⁰ J. CROQUISON, "Le 'Sacramentaire Charlemagne'", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 6 (1952), p. 56.

⁵¹ *Sakramentar von Metz. Fragment*, pp. 12-13, for an explanation of the nimbus.

apart from other Carolingian depictions of rulers.⁵² The ruler raises the index finger of his right hand. His left hand is covered by his mantle. From the clouds above this threesome the hand of God appears, reaching down a crown decorated with precious stones.

The ruler cannot be positively identified; the space for the *titulus* has remained empty. Different suggestions have been offered. Is it Charles the Bald himself, his grandfather Charlemagne, or even Clovis?⁵³ Several authors have tried to put a name to the ruler, often addressing different levels of meaning. Albert M. Friend identifies the ruler on a historical level as Charles the Bald, being crowned king of Lotharingia in 869. On an allegorical level he sees him as Clovis, mentioned in the Metz coronation-*ordo* as ancestor of the Carolingian dynasty, to exalt the kings from this family.⁵⁴ Others consider the image to be a reference to liturgical reforms by either Pippin⁵⁵ or Charlemagne.⁵⁶ The dedication miniature would on the one hand commemorate Charlemagne's liturgical reforms, through which he strove to obtain unity throughout his empire.⁵⁷ On the other hand it would reflect the imperial ambitions of his grandson and namesake, Charles the Bald. Florentine Mutherich, however, has argued that no specific historical interpretation should be given to the coronation miniature in the Metz Sacramentary. More likely the depiction has a general symbolic meaning. Mutherich places the miniature within the tradition of royal and imperial images. The ruler between two bishops is to be found in Ottonian images depicting the ceremonial procession of the ruler into the church, and in several coronation scenes. Nearly all these miniatures are from sacramentaries or pontificals. These were the books in which the consecration-*ordines* and the ceremonies were written down; the books connected with the conferment of the royal dignity and to the bearers of this dignity. They were used in the coronation ceremonies, but more particularly during so-called "Festkrönungen", festive coronations which started to have an important place in the medieval liturgy of the ruler. Through repeated coronations divine blessing was called down over the ruler and his family. The function of the manuscript, at the beginning of which we find the coronation image, is important to the form and contents of the miniature. It is

⁵² *Sakramentar von Metz. Fragment*, p. 13. An exception is Louis the Pious in Hrabanus Maurus's *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*.

⁵³ See for the discussion CROQUISON, "Le 'Sacramentaire Charlemagne'", pp. 55-70.

⁵⁴ Albert Mathias FRIEND jr., "Two manuscripts of the School of St. Denis", *Speculum* 1 (1926), pp. 59-70.

⁵⁵ Raymond LANTIER and Jean HUBERT, *Les origines de l'Art Français* (Paris, 1947).

⁵⁶ Philippe LAUER, "Iconographie Carolingienne. Vivien et Charlemagne", *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye* (Paris, 1940), pp. 191-205.

⁵⁷ CROQUISON, "Le 'Sacramentaire Charlemagne'", p. 70.

a sacramentary made for a royal liturgy. This does not mean that the manuscript cannot have been used for Charles the Bald's coronation in 869. Mütterich suggests that a luxurious manuscript was needed for the sudden coronation ceremony. As there was no complete manuscript available, this fragmentary manuscript, work on which had only just started, could be used as it already contained the main part of Mass.⁵⁸

The coronation scene in the Metz Sacramentary has been compared to the image of Solomon's anointment in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura.⁵⁹ In the sacramentary miniature, however, the crowning is the central act, not the biblical act of anointment. Although we encounter depictions of the anointment of biblical rulers, this theme is unknown for contemporary rulers. This seems surprising, as written sources tell us about the anointment of nearly every Carolingian ruler since Pippin's anointments in 751 and 754. The emphasis in the Metz Sacramentary is on the antique motive of the coronation; we might say that the imperial aspect of accession is stressed. Power is received *Dei gratia*; the crown is handed down by God himself. It is in Charlemagne's very first charter, dating from 13 January 769, that we first find the title "gratia Dei Francorum rex".⁶⁰ The coronation was, as we saw, a motif from late Antiquity. In the form in which we find it here, a ruler flanked by two figures being crowned by the hand of God, it can be traced back to Constantine the Great, who in Carolingian times was considered the ideal Christian monarch. Constantine was the first Christian emperor and, as such, the paradigm of all medieval rulers. Charlemagne, the first Carolingian emperor, took Constantine as his model.⁶¹ Charlemagne's imperial coronation, in Rome on Christmas Day of the year 800, was a continuation of the antique imperial ideology.⁶² This coronation had already become famous during the ninth century and had taken on legendary proportions by the time the Metz Sacramentary was made.⁶³ At Christmas 875, Charles the Bald had himself crowned emperor in imitation of his illustrious grandfather. The miniature in the sacramentary seems to refer to the idea of empire, and to that of the ideal emperor, linked with Charles

⁵⁸ *Sakramentar von Metz. Fragment*, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura", in: *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, jr.*, ed. Kurt WEITZMANN (Princeton, 1955), pp. 287-300.

⁶⁰ BAUTIER, "Sacres et couronnements", p. 17.

⁶¹ Hans Hubert ANTON, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968). Ernst Günther GRIMME, "Novus Constantinus", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 22 (1961), pp. 7-20.

⁶² SCHRAMM, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, 1, p. 33.

⁶³ Robert FOLZ, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950).

the Bald's imperial ambitions. We do not necessarily have to put the name of a contemporary ruler to the figure of the monarch.

No further depictions of coronations of Carolingian rulers survive. However, several elements deriving from the late antique iconographical tradition of the coronation are to be found in other Carolingian images. Rulers are usually shown wearing a crown. We find them on a throne, flanked by two or more figures, in a composition that is strikingly similar to the consular diptychs and the imperial iconographical tradition in which the depictions of the *Maria Regina*-type could also be placed. It is not until Ottonian times, however, that we again encounter images of a coronation.

Ottonian Images of the Coronation

Bernward's miniature of the Coronation of the Virgin was depicted in a place that in contemporary books was often reserved for a ruler image. This image could take the form of a coronation scene. The coronation of a king or emperor in Ottonian times is often shown at the beginning of a manuscript, especially during the reigns of Otto III and Henry II, rulers with whom Bernward was closely connected. Just as Bernward's miniature and the Carolingian image in the Metz Sacramentary, the Ottonian coronation images usually have the symmetrical composition that we traced back to late Antiquity. They symbolically show the ruler's power, just as Bernward's coronation of the Virgin shows us Mary's exalted status. Rarely do we encounter images that seem to give a more realistic rendering of a coronation. Carolingian and Ottonian images show us an ideology, not historical events. They are meant to give an ideal picture of the ruler. This is especially clear in the Ottonian ruler images. The representation of the Ottonian rulers Otto III and Henry II became ever more static, frontal and solemn. In Ottonian art ceremonial gesture and ritual begin to occupy an important place.

This new solemn and ceremonial image of the ruler is in part connected with a stylistic development. At the end of the tenth century originates a new and expressive style in the painting of miniatures. Attitudes and gestures were used ever more to convey the message of a picture, whereas other elements were reduced to a minimum. The emphasis is on intense interaction between the depicted figures, shown through gestures. The stress on gestures is often increased by the enlargement of hands and fingers.⁶⁴ We find this trend especially in the works of the so-

⁶⁴ *Die Bamberger Apokalypse. Codex Bibl. 140 der Staatlichen Bibliothek Bamberg. Ausstellung der Handschrift in ihren sämtlichen Bild- und Textseiten* (Bamberg, 1958), pp. 7, 11.

called Liuthar-group from Reichenau.⁶⁵ This abbey had been connected with royal power from the time of Charlemagne. The emperor stayed there regularly, as did many of his successors. The peak of Reichenau production was reached around the year 1000 and shortly after. Some of its most important works are closely connected with the last two emperors from the Saxon dynasty, Otto III and Henry II. Manuscripts that were not finished at the time of Otto III's early death seem to have been taken over by Henry II.⁶⁶ Henry II kept close ties with the abbey from the beginning of his rule. The powerful and wealthy Reichenau was his first stronghold in Swabia. From the start it supported him in his struggle for the crown with duke Hermann of Alemannia. The king stayed regularly in the abbey. He appointed its abbots, and in 1008 he appointed Berno, a close friend who was present at Henry's imperial coronation in Rome.⁶⁷

The new style, however, cannot be the only reason for the solemn and distant image of the Ottonian ruler. While other figures are shown in movement and in a series of attitudes, the monarch is usually depicted frontally and statically. There may be a connection with a new ideal of empire, in which the emperor is more solemn and further removed from his subjects, closer to God. This seems apparent in the coronation scenes. We find a coronation image in the so-called Liuthar Gospels, one of the earliest works of the Reichenau centre and the book from which a group of manuscripts takes its name. Most of the coronations, however, are found in works connected with Henry II.

The coronation image found in the Liuthar Gospels is impressive (Plate 8).⁶⁸ It was probably manufactured around the year 1000, shortly after Otto III's imperial coronation in 996.⁶⁹ The dedication scene of the gospels is spread over two pages (f.15v-16r), comparable to the slightly later Gospel Book of Bernward. In the Liuthar Gospels we find a figure on the left page offering a book to an exalted figure on the right page. Here it is the monk Liuthar, carrying a codex to honour Otto III, as the inscription tells us:

⁶⁵ However, K.B. POWELL, "Observations on a number of Liuthar manuscripts", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), pp. 1-11 has argued that the manuscript has been written within the ecclesiastical complex at Trier rather than at Reichenau. His arguments do not seem decisive, and we will therefore maintain the usual ascription of this group of works to Reichenau.

⁶⁶ *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁷ *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrich II.*, ed. Albert BOECKLER (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 17.

⁶⁸ MS Aachen, Domschatz.

⁶⁹ Many different interpretations have been given of this enigmatic image. See, e.g. Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957) and Konrad HOFFMANN, *Taufsymbolik im mittellalterlichen Herrscherbild* (Düsseldorf, 1968).

*Hoc, Auguste, libro tibi cor deus induat Otto
Quem de Liuthario te suscepisse memento.*⁷⁰

Compared to the left page, the right page is full of figures and life. The figures do not pay attention to the monk, just as Mary does not turn to the bishop of Hildesheim. The ruler is enthroned in a mandorla, his throne supported by Terra, a personification of the earth. The composition of the ruler, high up in the air, reminds us of images of the Ascension, and it was exactly on Ascension Day 996 that Otto III was crowned emperor in Rome.⁷¹ In his right hand Otto is holding the imperial globe, his left hand is opened in expectation, perhaps to receive the book. On his left and right are two crowned dignitaries, probably dukes, paying tribute to their ruler.⁷² Under this scene, we find on the left two armour-bearers, on the right two bishops. As the inscription tells us, the four apocalyptic creatures, symbols of the evangelists, "invest" the ruler's heart with a scroll. It is their Holy Writ which, in the tangible form of the Liuthar Gospels, has become a symbol of power on a par with the crown, the globe and the mantle.⁷³ "Augustus Otto" receives the crown from the hand of God, descending from a blue cross-nimbus from heaven; his rule is of Divine power and strength.

Otto is depicted elevated over the earth and over the other rulers. He is represented motionless and frontal, which is even more clear when we see the movement and gestures of the figures surrounding the emperor. Otto is tacitly compared with Christ not only through the position of his arms, reminding us of Christ on the cross, but also through the use of the *Maiestas*-formula with mandorla and the four animals, as it had been known since Carolingian times. Otto, however, is not placed on the same footing as Christ. The emperor in his mandorla is not the central point from which the animals fan out. The animals seem to radiate from the hand of God.⁷⁴ It is this hand that is crowning Otto,

⁷⁰ Joachim PROCHNO, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei, 1: Bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (800-1100)* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929: *Entwicklung des menschlichen Bildnisses* 2), p. 36.

⁷¹ HOFFMANN, *Taufsymbolik*, p. 35. Hoffmann also compares the high position of the ruler with Liudprand's description of his audience with the Byzantine emperor, who is rather suddenly raised up high in the air (Liudprand of Cremona, *Liber antapodoseos* VI, c. 5, ed. Joseph BECKER and tr. Albert BAUER and Reinhold RAU, in: *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Albert BAUER and Reinhold RAU, 2nd edn. (Darmstadt, 1977: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte* 8), p. 488).

⁷² Hoffmann, however, has argued that these are independent rulers converted by Otto. See HOFFMANN, *Taufsymbolik*, p. 37.

⁷³ Ernst Günther GRIMME, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 16.

⁷⁴ HOFFMANN, *Taufsymbolik*, p. 22.

giving imperial authority its Divine splendour in the iconographical tradition that we have been able to follow since Constantine and through the Metz Sacramentary.

A miniature showing a coronation that at first sight seems more "realistic", because it is not according to the "frontal and flanked" model we have encountered so far, can also be traced to the environment of Otto III. This time, however, we have to go to Italy, which may account both for the picture's provincial style and for the differences in representing the coronation. Folio 2 of the Sacramentary made for bishop Warmund of Ivrea (ca. 969-1011) shows the coronation of a king (Plate 6).⁷⁵ It is, according to Robert Deshman, the earliest known representation of the actual liturgical ceremony. The miniature prefaces the text for a royal consecration, the earliest and purest preserved text of the Early German coronation-*ordo*. This *ordo* was a basic source for the Mainz *ordo* used for the royal consecration of Otto III. The appearance of a rare German *ordo* in this provincial Italian Sacramentary points towards Otto III, who is probably the ruler depicted, and "the prominent placement of this particular text and its miniature at the very beginning of the manuscript pays a discreet compliment to the emperor".⁷⁶ A second coronation image confirms the connection with Otto III. It is a miniature illustrating the *Missa pro regibus*, representing the Virgin Mary investing Otto III with crown and sceptre, again in a composition different from the ones we have encountered so far. The titulus in the border states that the emperor Otto is crowned on behalf of the "well defended" bishop Warmund.⁷⁷ Between 999 and 1001 Otto III took Warmund's part in a bitter dispute with Arduin the Margrave of Ivrea. The royal mass and its coronation picture express the bishop's gratitude (the *Missa pro regibus* mentions "imperatorii nostro Ottoni"). Undoubtedly, the Sacramentary was made in Warmund's cathedral scriptorium during these years.⁷⁸

The second miniature renders the moment of crowning rather than any other event in the rite. However, Robert Deshman has drawn attention to another event in the accession ceremony alluded to in Warmund's co-ro-nation scene, the anointment of the ruler. A cleric behind the king displays two small containers of the holy oil used to anoint the ruler. This is not the place to go into the extensive ide-

⁷⁵ MS Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXVI. See: *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici Warmondiani*, ed. Luigi MAGNANI (Vatican City, 1934: *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice (quam simillime) expressi ... Series minor* 6).

⁷⁶ Robert DESHMAN, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary. A study in political theology", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1971), pp. 1-20.

⁷⁷ "Pro bene defenso Warmundo presule facto munere te dono caesar diadematis Otto". See DESHMAN, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary", p. 1 and note 2 (p.16).

⁷⁸ DESHMAN, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary", p. 1 and note 4 (pp.16-17).

ology concerning the salving of the ruler. Since Pippin's anointment in 751, the Carolingian and Ottonian rulers were salved, in imitation of the kings of the Old Testament. Anointment was also part of the ceremony of baptism. From Carolingian times onwards, Clovis's baptism was interpreted as a royal anointment. It is interesting that in Warmund's Sacramentary we find another miniature showing the baptism of Constantine the Great, in which the emperor is wearing a crown. This prominent crown implies that the unction also has connotations of imperial sacring. We have seen how medieval rulers were portrayed in the tradition of Constantine's coronation image, e.g. in the Liuthar Gospels. Here the exact opposite is found. Constantine's accession is represented as an anointment, following the medieval tradition of royal and imperial unction. That it is the emperor Constantine who receives this baptismal coronation is not accidental. Constantine, the first Christian emperor, served as an example to medieval rulers. The precedent of Constantine would have been especially significant to both Otto and Warmund. Otto appointed his friend and teacher Gerbert to the papacy in 999. Gerbert took on the name Sylvester II, referring to the first Sylvester, who had baptized Constantine. The emperor and the pope together sought to create a "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum".⁷⁹ One of Otto's first acts after making Gerbert pope was to preside jointly with him over an Easter synod in Rome condemning Warmund's enemy Arduin.⁸⁰

Emphasis on ritual and ideology seems to have augmented in the art of Henry II. His books show an even greater stress on majesty, rule and hierarchy compared to those made for Otto III.⁸¹ Henry's art expresses the ideology of Divine and royal rule especially through gesture and ritual. Indeed, Henry is the ruler most often shown being crowned. Henry Mayr-Harting has explained this emphasis by pointing at the struggle for succession following Otto III's death. Henry was the first Saxon ruler who lacked both the advantages of kingly unction and that of designation by his predecessor—the two elements of divine and ancestral appointment so prominent in art and literature concerning accessions since late Antiquity. Thietmar of Merseburg, a great supporter of Henry's, in his description of Henry's election stresses both Henry's descent and his ties with God, writing: "With one voice the multitude cried out that Henry was to rule with the help of Christ and by right of inheritance".⁸² Mayr-Harting finds that written texts highlight the ritualist

⁷⁹ Werner GOEZ, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958).

⁸⁰ DESHMAN, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary", pp. 11-13.

⁸¹ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1, p. 179.

⁸² Thietmar, *Chronicon*, v, c. 3, pp. 196-197.

aspects of Henry's campaign for the crown. Both in texts and in images ritual was used to pursue Henry's claim to the throne and to legitimize his authority. "[Henry] needed every ounce of sacrality that he could muster in order to achieve and then maintain his election".⁸³ The coronation is one of these rituals, and a very important one, as through it could be expressed the ideology serving to legitimize Henry's much contested succession. It showed that Henry was appointed by God. Henry had received a religious education; he had strong ecclesiastical leanings and knowledge of Church matters.⁸⁴ But it was not just his religious inclination that made Henry to have himself depicted and described as chosen by God. The political motif of reinforcing his position was at least as important. Thietmar is laconic about the coronations of other rulers. He does, however, describe the coronation of Henry II at some length, and stresses the ruler's appointment by God by calling him "a Deo coronato regi Heinricho".⁸⁵

In pictorial images the royal ideology was expressed through a gesture we have encountered repeatedly: the coronation by the hand of God. The coronation image in Henry's own Sacramentary is particularly close in composition to the Metz Sacramentary. The Sacramentary of Henry II (Plate 9)⁸⁶ was made at Regensburg, a city that occupied an important position as a commercial centre between the West and the Byzantine Empire.⁸⁷ Henry had received his education here. He probably gave the book to his favourite foundation of Bamberg,⁸⁸ to which he gave the status of diocese in the year 1007. That very year he donated many treasures and works of art to the new diocese. On 6 May 1012, Henry's fortieth birthday, the new cathedral was consecrated and once again provided with many gifts. At either one of these two ceremonies the manuscript may have been given to the Bamberg cathedral.⁸⁹ Henry is given the title *rex* in the verses accompanying the dedication miniature. This means the book must have been manufactured before his imperial coronation in the year 1014. Just as the Metz Sacramentary, Henry's Sacramentary need not have been made for any specific coronation, as Swarzenski has pointed out. It is the theocratic ideal of government that has been represented.⁹⁰

⁸³ MAYR-HARTING, *Ottoman Book Illumination*, 1, pp. 193-195.

⁸⁴ TSCHAN, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 1, p. 125.

⁸⁵ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI, c. 6, pp. 248-249.

⁸⁶ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456.

⁸⁷ SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, pp. 80-82.

⁸⁸ SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 66.

⁸⁹ *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁰ SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 64.

The first miniature of the manuscript shows us Henry II, whose outstretched arms are supported by the sainted bishops Udalric and Emmeram, the patrons of Augsburg and Regensburg respectively. In the same way, Henry is seen with his arms supported by bishops in a pontifical made at Seeon, an offshoot of Regensburg. Mayr-Harting has explained this image by pointing at the importance of bishops to Henry's rule.⁹¹ The monarch is crowned by Christ, who appears above him in a mandorla. To the left and right angels descend, holding the lance and sword of the king, their hands covered in reverence. The scene is accompanied by verses that give a literal description of the image.⁹² On the verso of the folio (f. 11v) we find a second image of Henry II, now enthroned, in a copy of a miniature from the Carolingian Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram.⁹³ The coronation miniature in Henry's Sacramentary in turn seems likely to be inspired by a different Carolingian manuscript from Charles the Bald's school, the Metz Sacramentary. According to Swarzenski, the coronation image was added to the copy of the ruler portrait to emphasize the religious side of the king's authority. In Carolingian art a monarch could be depicted alone, representing purely secular authority. In this Ottonian book the spiritual aspect of power has been added: the king is appointed by Christ, who will protect him during his earthly life and reward him in the hereafter. He is the protector of Christ's Church on earth.⁹⁴

Other works connected with Henry II also propagate this political theory through ritual. The Pericope Book of Henry II, for example, given by Henry to Bamberg cathedral before 1014, has an inscription in which the ruler is again given the title of *rex*.⁹⁵ The manuscript is very luxurious and is one of the main works of the Liuthar group.⁹⁶ It represented first of all a great treasure, a gift from the king to his favourite diocese. It may have been used to ennoble the celebration of Mass at the greatest festivals of the liturgical year, especially when the ruler himself was present. As Mayr-Harting has emphasized, "it was a king's book more than a bishop's".⁹⁷ In the Pericope Book of Henry II the ruler is again shown

⁹¹ MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 1, pp. 198-199.

⁹² SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 64.

⁹³ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, written ca. AD 870, probably at St. Denis by a commission from Charles the Bald. See: *Der Codex aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, ed. Georg LEIDINGER, 6 vols. (Munich, 1921-1931).

⁹⁴ SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 73.

⁹⁵ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452. Facsimile: *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II.* (Munich, 1914).

⁹⁶ Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. I. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768-1250*, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1981), pp. 156-157 (No. 110).

⁹⁷ MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 1, p. 179.

being crowned by Christ in a symmetrical composition (Plate 10). This time, however, Christ is the central figure, while the king and queen stand on either side. A similar composition is already to be found on an ivory image of the coronation of Otto II and his wife, the Byzantine princess Theophanu, both of whom are identified by inscriptions: "Otto imperator Romanorum Augustus" and "Theophanu imperatrix Augustus" (*sic!*) (Plate 11). Otto held the title of emperor from 982, which means the ivory must have been made between that moment and his death in 983. The ivory was probably manufactured in Constantinople. Otto and Theophanu are dressed in Byzantine style. A strikingly similar ivory exists, showing the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV and his wife, the empress Eudoxia.⁹⁸ In Western manuscripts the coronation of saints is often depicted in the same composition, although there the image's subject is the conferment of purely heavenly, not earthly, crowns.⁹⁹

The dedication miniature in the Pericope Book of Henry II (f.2r) shows Christ crowning Henry II and his wife Kunigunde. Christ is seated frontally on a throne. Flanking him, Peter and Paul present Henry, who is holding sceptre and globe as symbols of his power, and Kunigunde, holding a staff. The two earthly rulers are small next to the heavenly majesty of Christ and the saints. Christ holds a crown in each hand, holding them over the heads of the king and queen. On the opposite page we find the dedicatory inscription.¹⁰⁰ The verses over the miniature call for justice and represent the theocratic ideal of government, depicted as a coronation by Christ, explicitly in words: rulers receive their power from God, and are expected to rule justly.¹⁰¹

In the space under the coronation image, personifications of the different provinces bring symbols of triumph. Three large female figures probably represent Roma (or Italia) flanked by Gallia and Germania. Six women shown at half length may represent the German tribes or the six duchies. According to the inscription they are offering the *census*, the yearly taxes, to the king. The census appears here in the idealized form of the *aurum coronarium*. It is the ritual at the origin of the coronation. Because of his direct connection with God, shown in the upper scene as the coronation by Christ, the king has natural authority over the world he rules. Countries and peoples have to obey the government instituted by God. Personifications of the different territories bring the insignia of power (garland and globe)

⁹⁸ SCHRAMM, *Denkmale*, pp. 144, 482 (No. 73).

⁹⁹ SWARZENSKI, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Hermann FILITZ, Rainer KAHSNITZ and Ulrich KUDER, *Zierde für ewige Zeit. Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.* (Frankfurt a.M., 1994), p. 110.

¹⁰¹ *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II.* (1960), pp. 4-5.

and tribute in dishes and horns.¹⁰² The coronation is here connected with the offering of gifts to the king, recalling the celebration of victory and power as expressed in the antique ritual of the *aurum coronarium*.

Also from Reichenau is the so-called Bamberg Apocalypse (Plate 12).¹⁰³ This manuscript from the Liuthar group is closely related to the Pericope Book of Henry II. It was another gift to Bamberg, to St. Stephen's this time. Henry and Kunigunde, presented the church with the sumptuous codex, as the inscription on the now lost book cover once told: "Henric et Kunigunt haec tibi munera promunt".¹⁰⁴ The Apocalypse is the first part of a manuscript of which the second part, written in the same hand, is a Pericope Book. A ruler portrait with coronation is to be found on folio 59v. It is likely that the image forms the beginning of the Pericope Book, rather than the end of the Apocalypse. It is doubtful whether the book was originally commissioned by Henry II, as the ruler in the miniature has the appearance of Otto III. He is quite different from the way in which Henry II is usually depicted. This may be a manuscript that was unfinished at the death of Otto III and was then taken over by his successor.¹⁰⁵

The ruler, holding a globe, is enthroned between saints Peter and Paul, who are placing a crown on his head. Underneath, comparable to the Pericope Book of Henry II, three female figures appear, honouring the monarch with well-filled dishes and horns. The representation of the ruler enthroned between Peter and Paul reminds us of the composition of the *Traditio legis*.¹⁰⁶ There, Christ hands the law to Peter and Paul, who are flanking him. Moreover, it is very similar to the *Maiestas Domini*-ivories that form the counterpart to the images of the Holy Virgin enthroned between angels. Thus, in the Bamberg Apocalypse, the monarch is again compared with Christ through the composition of the miniature. Moreover, the representation can be directly connected to the tradition of the *Maria Regina*.

Later in the eleventh century we find yet another similar composition depicting a coronation. The Schaffhausen Pontifical (Plate 13) was probably manufactured around the middle of the century in South-East Germany.¹⁰⁷ It contains three pen drawings: a ruler image as a dedication portrait at the beginning of the book, a coronation scene and a ruler on a throne. Folio 29r shows the ruler between two

¹⁰² *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II.* (1960), p. 5.

¹⁰³ MS Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 140. See: *Die Bamberger Apokalypse. Eine Reichenau Bilderhandschrift vom Jahre "1000"*, ed. Heinrich Wölfflin, second edn. (Munich, 1921).

¹⁰⁴ *Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (1918), pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (1958), pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁶ One of the earliest examples can be found on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Rome, ca. 359 (Rome, Grotte Vaticane).

¹⁰⁷ MS Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Cod. 94.

archbishops touching the *insignia* (which have just been conveyed?) in a composition that can be compared with that of the coronation in the Bamberg Apocalypse and the Exultet Roll we have discussed before. The representation of the ruler between two bishops also reminds us of the miniature in the Metz Sacramentary and the Seon Pontifical. On folio 29v a ruler is depicted enthroned, with crown and sceptre. The images of the coronation and the enthroned ruler preface the so-called Mainz coronation-*ordo*.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

As we have seen, several elements of the late antique iconography of imperial coronation can be found in Bernward's miniature of the Coronation of the Virgin. The iconography of this image was influenced by "Italian" depictions of *Maria Regina*, influenced themselves by Roman imperial iconography, in which Mary is enthroned between angels. On the other hand, images of imperial and royal coronations must have been important as well. This miniature was manufactured during the reign of Henry II and shows important similarities with images of Henry being crowned. The iconography of these last images can also be traced back to late Antiquity. Although images of the coronation may have been connected with an actual coronation, the ritual in which a ruler was invested with power, and although many of the same ideals that are to be found in the coronation-*ordines* are also expressed in the images, they can hardly ever be proven to be renderings of specific events. The coronation, in its symmetrical form, rather gives us an image of power than a representation of an actual coronation.¹⁰⁹ The gesture of crowning was a convention through which majesty was expressed. This is why the same gesture could be used to exalt the Virgin Mary.

By means of the crowning gesture, Carolingian and especially Ottonian miniatures project an image of the ruler and the nature of his authority. It shows us more than just a ruler wearing a crown: It shows us the origin of the ruler's power and authority and it emphasises that power. The gesture almost literally points at the crown, the symbol of power and majesty. The hand of God appears from heaven holding a crown, or God's representatives, saints or clerics, perform the coronation. In this way the ruler is shown not only receiving God's blessing for his rule,

¹⁰⁸ *Suevia Sacra. Frühe Kunst in Schwaben*, ed. Adelheid RIOLINI-UNGER (Augsburg, 1973), pp. 177-178.

¹⁰⁹ We do not find representations of coronations until later. See Nikolaus GUSSONE, "Krönung", in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, pp. 661-671.

but is actually receiving his authority from God. The coronation is not depicted as a moment in time, but as a sign of the legitimization of royal or imperial power.

It is not just images that tell us about the gesture of coronation and about non-verbal communication. Narrative texts may serve as sources for this research as well. These sources, for example rulers' biographies, annals and other historiographical works, seem at first sight to give a more realistic rendering of gestures and rituals. However, here too gestures appear to have been used to serve the image of the monarch. I have already briefly referred to the way in which descriptions of the coronation of Louis the Pious were used to depict Louis as a suitable ruler. They stress a connection with Constantine the Great and suggest similarities with the way written texts were to use descriptions of rituals to support Henry II's claim to the throne. As gestures and rituals were, both in narrative texts and in pictorial images, manipulated to serve the purpose of their authors, it is impossible to reconstruct the rituals themselves from these sources. However, the fact that these gestures and rituals were mentioned and manipulated at all points to their importance. It is obvious from word and image that the coronation and its connection with the sacred and the imperial were important elements in the making of monarchs. The values attached to non-verbal means of communication are in urgent need of reappraisal.

The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia)¹

ANNA ADAMSKA

The presence of this topic in a collection of essays dealing with new approaches to medieval communication has its reasons. The development of "literacy" in the heart of medieval Europe, and of a culture of the written word ultimately based on Roman civilization, can and ought to be compared with the same development as it took place in the "peripheral zones" of Western civilization. One of these zones was Central Europe (see the map at p. 188). The three countries situated within that zone, Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, only became part of the cultural unity of *Latinitas* belatedly. It started in the tenth century, with the beginnings of Christianization, and the influence of Roman civilization was felt indirectly, if at all. The introduction of writing was a relatively slow process; its completion took place only in the fifteenth century. In this article, a summary attempt will be made at dividing the process into distinct stages, after which its first, preliminary, stage will be outlined. In presenting the evidence, the comparative lack of studies on the subject will become clear. Maybe that this essay will provide a stimulus to think and discuss the problem of medieval literacy in Central Europe.

¹ With thanks to M. Bláhová (Prague) and E. Madas (Budapest) for their corrections and suggestions.

Central Europe, the Notion of "Literacy" and the Periodization of the Introduction of Writing

First, it is necessary to delimit our subject more clearly by stating its geographical and chronological boundaries. The notion "Central Europe" has been the subject of discussion from the beginning of the twentieth century.² This was mainly due to political events, the most important of which was the disappearance of three empires (those of the Russians, Germans and Austrians) at the end of the First World War and their replacement by a number of small countries.³ The region between the Elbe in the West, the Russian border in the East, the Balkans in the South and the Baltic in the North has also received other names: East Central Europe (by those who considered Germany, Austria and Switzerland to be part of Central Europe as well)⁴ and Eastern Europe.⁵ There have been doubts as to the eastern frontier of the region: ought one to include present-day Byelorussia and the Ukraine as well? However, there is consensus that Bohemia, Poland and Hungary within their historical boundaries form its centre.⁶

It is possible to treat these three neighbouring countries together, because historical developments there were, *mutatis mutandis*, comparable.⁷ Furthermore, there existed strong political, economic and cultural links between the countries

² See, for a presentation of the problem, J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *East Central Europe in the Historiography of the Countries of the Region* (Lublin, 1995) [French version: *L'Europe du Centre-Est dans l'historiographie des pays de la région* (Lublin, 1995); references are made to the English edition]. For the naming of the region in an early medieval context, see also: *Origins of Central Europe*, ed. P. URBANCZYK (Warsaw, 1997). For a survey of the history of the region in the Middle Ages, see: J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Młodsza Europa: Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza* [The younger Europe: Christian East Central Europe in medieval civilization] (Warsaw, 1998).

³ Proof of the strong political context in which scholarly discussion has been held can be found in the first use of the term "Central Europe" by F. NAUMANN, *Mitteuropa* (Berlin, 1915), who wanted it to designate the new "German" Europe after the First World War.

⁴ Proposal of the Polish historian Oskar Halecki in 1950 (KŁOCZOWSKI, *East Central Europe*, pp. 25-26). The Hungarian journal devoted to the history of the region is called *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* (1935-).

⁵ 1927, for example, saw the foundation in Warsaw of the Fédération des Sociétés Historiques de l'Europe Orientale. The name has been very frequent during the cold war period.

⁶ See e.g., P. WANDYCZ, *The Price of Freedom* (London and New York, 1992) and J. SZUCS, *Les trois Europes* (Paris, 1982) (after KŁOCZOWSKI, *East Central Europe*, p. 36).

⁷ For basic information about the histories of these three countries, see the bibliography of F. GRAUS, "Böhmen", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich and Zürich, 1983), col. 335-344, A. GIEYSZTOR, "Polen", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7 (Munich and Zürich, 1995), col. 51-58, and J. B. BAK, "Ungarn", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (Munich and Zürich, 1997), col. 1226-1234.

during the Middle Ages. The migration of people and ideas within the region was linked with ecclesiastical circles and with the networks of the intra-regional rulers; from the fourteenth century onwards, the universities of Prague and Cracow also played a major role. Not surprisingly, there exists a certain tradition of comparative historical study within the region, but it has concentrated mainly on social and political structures.⁸ Comparative studies of the countries' cultural evolution have been hardly abundant.⁹

When analyzing the process of the introduction of writing, concepts are used which have recently been much *en vogue* in the history of civilization as practised in the West. First, we have the "culture" or "civilization" of writing and the "passage" to it. "Verschriftlichung", "Verschriftelijking", "passage à l'écrit", and its inept English translation "literation" are keywords to denote more or less accurately the introduction of writing in the various social domains, ultimately making writing into the most esteemed means of communication. To make this development possible, a competence in reading and writing skills is necessary which goes by the name "literacy". This notion, as its derivations ("mandarin literacy", "pragmatic literacy", etc.) is still subject to debate among anthropologists, sociologists, historians and others.¹⁰ When the topic of the introduction of writing was first addressed by Czech, Polish and Hungarian specialists, this vocabulary, with all its difficulties and imprecisions, was introduced in Central European discourse. In Polish publications, for instance, one uses the equivalent of "literacy" ("piśmienność"),¹¹ which is sometimes considered synonymous with "degree of alphabetiza-

⁸ L. MAKKAJ, "Les caractères originaux de l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Europe Orientale pendant le Moyen Âge", *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16 (1970), Nos. 3-4, pp. 16-37; J. KŁOCZOWSKI, "O historię porównawczą społeczeństw europejskich" [For the comparative history of European societies], *Przegląd Historyczny* 67 (1976); S. RUSSOCKI, "Monarchie stanowe Środkowo-Wschodniej Europy XV-XVI wieku" [The sovereign monarchies of East Central Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 84 (1977), pp. 69-82.

⁹ E.g., J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Europa słowiańska w XIV-XV wieku* [Slavic Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries] (Warsaw, 1984); M. BLÁHOVÁ, "Bischöfliche Beamte als Geschichtsschreiber im Ostmitteleuropa des frühen und hohen Mittelalters", in: *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250: La Diplomatie épiscopale avant 1250: Referate zum VIII. Internationalen Kongress für Diplomatie, Innsbruck 27. September-3. Oktober 1993* (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 187-195.

¹⁰ M. MOSTERT, "New approaches to medieval communication?", in this volume, pp. 15-37.

¹¹ E. POTKOWSKI, "Pragmatyczna piśmienność w średniowiecznym Tyńcu" [Pragmatic literacy at Tyniec in the Middle Ages], in: *Benedyktyni tyńce w średniowieczu*, ed. K. ŻUROWSKA (Cracow, 1995), pp. 71-79; ID., "Pisarz i jego dzieło w średniowiecznym społeczeństwie" [The scribe and his work in medieval society], in: *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. R. MICHAŁOWSKI a.o. (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 265-279.

tion" ("poziom alfabetyzacji").¹² One speaks also of "the culture of writing" ("kultura pisma"),¹³ understood as the whole variety of activities in which man uses writing. It is clear that the linguistic and conceptual difficulties of Occidental scholarship are bound to be mirrored and augmented by Central European discussions in the years to come.

One may study the introduction of writing in Central Europe by putting a series of introductory questions, once it is understood that "literacy ... clearly has different connotations according to the context in which it is considered, whether political, social anthropological or historical".¹⁴ Under which circumstances did the process start in the three countries which interest us? Which social and cultural factors speeded the process or slowed it down? How could "literacy" and "illiteracy" coexist in the various social spheres? How did the functions of "literacy" change during the Middle Ages? As medieval communication is a fairly new topic in Central European scholarship, the answers to these questions can only in part be gleaned from the literature published so far.

In Central Europe, within the process of the introduction of writing three stages are discernible. The first takes place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the second in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the third in the fifteenth century. The distinguishing characteristics of these stages are the same for all three countries: in the first stage we clearly see the introduction of writing, in the second the growth of its uses in social and political life, and in the third its rule as the most esteemed means of communication in society. Obviously, this periodization is far from perfect, as there are differences between the histories of the individual countries. Harmonizing these histories is fraught with difficulties. Problems arise when one considers the effective dating of the three stages in each country. Consider, for instance, the fifteenth century. In Bohemia, the fourteenth century can be said to have ended with the Hussite revolution of 1415. Hungary's history has changed with the end of the Anjou dynasty and the accession of the Luxembourgs in 1395. As for Poland, one might suggest the personal union with Lithuania in 1385, which marked the start of the formation of a large federal state, as the end of the fourteenth century, and with it the end of our second stage. A similar prob-

¹² E.g., K. SKUPIENSKI, *Notariat publiczny w średniowiecznej Polsce* [Notary's practice in medieval Poland] (Lublin, 1997), pp. 50 sqq.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 67 sqq; P. DYMMEI, "Wstęp" [Introduction], in: *Kultura piśmienna średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych: Problemy i konteksty badawcze* [Written culture of the Middle Ages and of modern times: Research problems and contexts], ed. P. DYMMEI and B. TRELIŃSKA (Lublin, 1998: *Res Historica* 3), pp. 9-13.

¹⁴ R. MCKITTERICK, "Introduction", in: *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. MCKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1990), p. 4.

lem arises with the end of the fifteenth century. Polish historiography considers 1492 to have been the crucial year, whereas in Hungary the fifteenth century only ends in 1526 with the tragical battle of Mohacs against the Turks. Distinguishing the stages in our periodization by referring to centuries is therefore merely conventional.

The Introduction of Writing as a Consequence of the "Baptism" of Central Europe

As virtually everywhere else in Europe North of the Alps, the introduction of writing in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary was intimately linked with Christianization. Christianity being a religion of the Book, its institution, the Church, had come to demand the use of writing and books both for worship and for preaching.¹⁵ The message of the Church of Rome was transmitted in the Latin language, and inasmuch as the societies of Central Europe chose missionaries brought up in the Roman tradition, the introduction of the written word signified a double revolution. A new means of communication was linked almost inseparably with a new language, Latin. With few exceptions, writing the vernaculars was a much later development.¹⁶

There is a rich literature on the beginnings of Christianization in Central Europe.¹⁷ Here it will suffice to recall its most important dates.

The Bohemian lands were first attained by medieval *Christianitas* thanks to the mission of Saints Cyril (Constantine) and Methodios (863-885), and, after its failure, by the missionary efforts of German clerics. Their success was crowned by the foundation of the bishopric of Prague (973), which was dependent on the archbishopric of Mainz.

¹⁵ M. RICHTER, *The Oral Tradition in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1994: *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental* 71), p. 25; J. VEZIN, "La production et la circulation des livres dans l'Europe du x^e siècle", in: *Gerbert l'Européen: Actes du colloque d'Aurillac 4-7 juin 1996*, ed. N. CHARBONNEL and J.-E. IUNG (Clermont-Ferrand, 1997), p. 207.

¹⁶ See, for the exception of the use of Slavic in the liturgy, *infra*, p. 11.

¹⁷ See e.g., J. KŁOCZOWSKI, "La nouvelle Chrétienté du monde occidental: La christianisation des Slaves, des Scandinaves et des Hongrois entre le IX^e et le XI^e siècle", in: *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, 4: *Evêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, ed. G. DAGRON, P. RICHÉ and A. VAUCHEZ (Paris, 1993), pp. 869-908; A. ADAMSKA, "Les problèmes de l'Eglise en Pologne et en Bohême", in: *Gerbert l'Européen*, pp. 247-254; M. SÁGY, "La christianisation de la Hongrie", *ibid.*, pp. 255-262; *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, ed. P. URBANCZYK (Warsaw, 1997).

Just before the founding of Prague, the Christianization of Poland had been begun. Prince Mieszko I had concluded a political alliance with Bohemia and had married Princess Dobrawa. Mieszko was baptized in 966. Clerics from Prague administered the sacrament, thereby avoiding ecclesiastical and political submission to Germany. Ecclesiastical structures were put in place rather quickly, and it might be said that Poland was luckier than Bohemia. Whereas Prague was raised to the status of archbishopric only in the fourteenth century, in the year 1000, during his pilgrimage to the tomb of the newly martyred St. Adalbert († 997), the German emperor Otto III founded the archbishopric of Gniezno. This gesture enabled the Polish Church in later centuries to be dependent only on the papacy.¹⁸

Simultaneously, a Hungarian Church developed. The nomads who in the ninth and tenth centuries settled on the ancient territories of Roman Pannonia and Dacia in the ninth century underwent the influence of both Eastern and Western forms of Christianity. In 948, one tribal chieftain was baptized in Constantinople, thereby inviting Byzantine missionaries. However, at the end of the tenth century, mainly for political reasons, Hungary turned to the West. In the year 1000 the first Hungarian king, Stephen, received his crown from the hands of Pope Sylvester II. At the same time the pope set up the archbishopric of Esztergom, thereby creating a second autonomous Church in Central Europe.

Both Hungary and Bohemia underwent Byzantine missionary attempts.¹⁹ Only Poland entered directly into Latin Christianity.²⁰ As a consequence of Byzantine influence, in Central Europe Latin was to be seconded, if only temporarily, by other written languages.

All scholars concur that Christianization was a true revolution for the peoples of Central Europe.²¹ Christianity provoked a series of changes, in society as well

¹⁸ See e.g., J. FRIED, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry: Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangelars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das fruhe polnische und ungarische Konigum* (Stuttgart, 1989).

¹⁹ Byzantine influence may also be discerned in the development of Hungarian ecclesiastical organization. See: I. BAAN, "The foundation of the archbishopric of Kalocsa: The Byzantine origin of the second Archdiocese in Hungary", in: *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, pp. 67-74.

²⁰ If one does not take seriously the hypothesis of extensive penetration of Poland by the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodios. For a discussion of the topic, see: S. SZCZUR, "Misja cyrylo-metodianska w swietle najnowszych badan" [The mission of Cyril and Methodios in the light of recent research], in: *Chryszczanizacja Polski poludniowej* (Cracow, 1994), pp. 7-23.

²¹ C.A. MACARTNEY, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 9; B. KIRBIS, "O zyciu religijnym w Polsce X-XII wieku" [Religious life in Poland, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries], in: *Pogranicza i konteksty literatury polskiego sredniowiecza*, ed. T. MICHALOWSKA (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 7-55; L. LECIEJEWICZ, *Slowianie Zachodni* [The Occident]

as in collective psychology. Feudal social structures and the Western model of royal power came in the wake of Christianity. The introduction of writing was yet another of the more important changes. Until then, writing had been virtually unknown to the societies living in the region. The spoken word was the most esteemed form of communication; orality was the norm. If one follows the typology of Paul Zumthor, we are not, however, dealing with a situation of "primary orality", as these societies had at least been in contact with writing to some degree.²² If we admit contacts, mainly of an economic nature, of the Slavic and Hungarian tribes with literate societies before their Christianization, one may speak of "mixed orality". But the spoken word was most certainly dominant over the written word.

Before Christianization, and for a considerable time afterwards, public and private affairs were conducted using oral means of communication.²³ The testimony of the living person, human speech, decided court cases according to customary law.²⁴ Slavic and Hungarian traditionalism in jurisdiction meant that oral testimony was considered important for the validity of legal actions almost until the very end of the Middle Ages. This holds true especially in Poland and Hungary. Orality, spoken communication aided by forms of non-verbal communication, also dictated government procedure. The permanent travelling of the rulers, called "the system of the *rex ambulans*", enabled direct contact with the subjects. Doubtlessly, the spoken word was also predominant in education and magic.

Because of the absence of texts written in our three countries before Christianization, many scholars have questioned the existence of literary art. If it had existed, it must have been an "oral" literature in the vernacular. Recently, with the aid of anthropological parallels, one has started the reconstruction of the literary heritage of the pagan period. The Hungarian case seems the most straightforward. As nomads, they developed an epic poetry which resembled to a certain degree the Scandinavian sagas; it was chanted and recited by professional performers. The contents of these songs answered the needs of a warrior people, glorifying the courage of its heroes on the battlefield and preserving the memory of Hungarian

Slavs] (Wrocław etc., 1989), p. 206.

²² P. ZUMTHOR, *La lettre et la voix: De la littérature médiévale* (Paris, 1987), p. 18. See for another definition of "primary orality", W. ONG, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York, 1982), pp. 6, 11, 31-75.

²³ See also *infra*, p. 27.

²⁴ S. KĘTRZYŃSKI, *Zarys nauki o dokumencie polskim wieków średnich* [Precis of medieval Polish diplomatics] (Warsaw, 1934), p. 90; Ch. D'ESZLARY, *Histoire des institutions publiques hongroises*, 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 116; J. KREJČIKOVÁ, "Introduction à la sigillographie tchèque: Les premiers siècles du sceau en Bohême", *Archiv für Diplomatik* (1993), pp. 35-83, at p. 35.

ethnogenesis. As elsewhere, a principal feature of this type of literature was the existence of many different versions of the same story, traces of which might be found in written sources. Obviously, not a single fragment of this poetry has been preserved in writing. Only Latin translations from the Late Middle Ages are known.²⁵ It may be supposed that Poland and Bohemia also knew a rich oral literature, consisting of songs for special occasions, tales of heroism and fictitious tales. All texts have disappeared.²⁶ Maybe some vestiges of oral tradition, however, are preserved in the historiographical works produced in the twelfth century.²⁷

Oral literature must have used the vernacular. But what do we have to understand by "vernacular" before the eleventh century? The Hungarian case is relatively clear, contrary to that of the Slavs. Probably the ninth and tenth centuries, at the very moment of the first contacts with Christianity, saw the destruction of the Slavic linguistic unity for which St. Cyril had developed his alphabet. The Czech and Polish tribes found themselves in the Western Slavic linguistic group, and until the end of the twelfth century they used the same language, with the same lexicon and syntax.²⁸ The chronicler Cosmas of Prague (ca. 1045-1125) noted differences in customs between Czechs and Poles, but not in their language.²⁹

Let us now return to the matter of the links between Christianization and the introduction of writing. The example of Bohemia proves that the choice for either Rome or Constantinople profoundly influenced the written culture of the neophyte countries. The missionary activities of Cyril and Methodios among the Slavs coincided with the period in which Great Moravia was at its most powerful. The missionaries came prepared with a Glagolitic alphabet, developed for the Macedonian dialect but suitable for transcribing all dialects of the Slavic language, and with Slavic translations of the Bible and of the most important liturgical texts. They inspired a prodigious development of ecclesiastical literature in the vernacular. Despite the pope's approval, however, their efforts were stopped by a German clergy promoting the Latin language in its missions. These German clerics under-

²⁵ See I. NEMESKÜRTY, "The Middle Ages", in: *A History of Hungarian Literature*, ed. T. KLANICZAY (Budapest, 1982), pp. 18-19; MACARTNEY, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, pp. 7-8; E. MALYUSZ, "La chancellerie royale et la rédaction des chroniques dans la Hongrie médiévale", *Le Moyen Âge* 75 (1969), pp. 66-70.

²⁶ T. MICHAŁOWSKA, *Wielka historia literatury polskiej*, 1: *Średniowiecze* [Great history of Polish literature, 1: The Middle Ages] (Warsaw, 1995), pp. 53-56.

²⁷ See p. 20 sq.

²⁸ H. POPOWSKA-TABORSKA, *Wczesne dzieje Słowian w świetle ich języka* [The ancient history of the Slavs in the light of their language] (Warsaw, 1991); EAD., "The Slavs in the early Middle Ages from the Viewpoint of contemporary linguistic", in: *Origins of Central Europe*, pp. 91-96.

²⁹ Cosmas Pragensis, *Chronica Bohemorum*, ed. B. BRETHOLZ (Berlin, 1926: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, new series 2). See on the author also p. 21.

stood the efficacy of using the Slavic vernacular in the missionary effort, but restricted it to preaching and direct contact with catechumens. After the death of St. Methodios in 885 (St. Cyril had died in 869), their pupils had to leave Great Moravia, where Latin was from now on to hold sway.³⁰ It was the end of the "Slavic" mission, but not that of Slavic as a written language. Until the end of the eleventh century we observe a true bilingual written culture.³¹ In its Czech development, written Slavic language (the "tschechische Redaktion des Kirchenslawischen") was kept in use for liturgical as well as for literary purposes.³² Members of the dynasty of the Přemislids were able to read the Psalter in both Latin and Slavic.³³ The centre of Slavic literary culture was the monastery of Sázawa to the Southeast of Prague. Founded around the year 1032 it followed the *Rule* of St. Benedict, but used Slavic in the liturgy.³⁴ The scriptorium of the monastery produced Slavic manuscripts using the Glagolitic alphabet and script as well as Latin manuscripts. Unfortunately, this highly interesting centre depended on the goodwill of the rulers, and after a series of disturbances Sázawa was finally disbanded around the year 1095.³⁵ A new tradition of celebrating the liturgy in the vernacular was to start in Bohemia during the fourteenth century. It occurred mainly for political reasons. In 1346 King Charles IV of the Luxembourg dynasty founded the Emmaüs monastery in Prague, where the liturgy was to be celebrated in Czech. From the scriptorium of this monastery issued the 1415 Bible in Czech, written in Glagolitic script.³⁶

³⁰ There is an enormous literature on the missions of Saints Cyril and Methodios. See I. DUJCEV a.o., *Kirilometodievská bibliografija 1940-1980* (Sofia, 1983). See also *Christianity among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius: Acts of the International Congress held on the Eleventh Centenary of the Death of St. Methodius, Rome, October 8-11, 1985* (Rome, 1988).

³¹ J. BUJNOCH, "Kirche und lateinische Literatur im Mittelalter", in: *Bohemia Sacra: Das Christentum in Böhmen 973-1973* (Düsseldorf, 1974), p. 358.

³² F.W. MAREŠ, "Die slavische Liturgie in Böhmen zur Zeit der Gründung des Prager Bistums", in: *Millenium dioecesis Pragensis 973-1973* (Vienna etc., 1974), pp. 95-110; ID., *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin* (Munich, 1979). A rich bibliography is contained in B. KURBIŠ, "Krág czesko-morawski a pierwsza chrystianizacja Polski" [The circle of old Czechia and Moravia and the first Christianization of Poland], in: *Cyryl i Metody, apostołowie i nauczyciele Słowian*, 2 vols., ed. J. GAJEK and L. GÓRKA (Lublin, 1991), 1, pp. 145-158.

³³ According to the oldest version of the *Kristiánova legenda* (*The Legend of Kristian*), St. Venceslaus learnt to read Slavic, Latin and Greek. See: *Kristiánova legenda. Život a umučení svatého Václava a jeho báby svatě Ludmily*. ed. J. LUDVIKOVSKÝ (Prague, 1978), pars III.

³⁴ For the main facts and a basic bibliography, see J. KADLEC, "Sázawa", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7, col. 1424-1425.

³⁵ BUJNOCH, "Kirche und lateinische Literatur im Mittelalter", p. 361.

³⁶ J. SMOLIK, "Słowiańska liturgia w Czechach" [The Slavic liturgy in Bohemia], in: *Cyryl i Metody*, 1, p. 87.

In all three countries, however, the Latin language and alphabet were from the beginning the most important instruments of written communication. The Glagolitic alphabet had merely an ephemeral role to play in medieval Bohemia. In Hungary, as a consequence of the work of the Byzantine missionaries, traces can be found of the use of the Greek alphabet.³⁷ Its practice in time faded away.

The First Stage of the Introduction of Writing (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries)

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the first stage of the introduction of writing in the countries of Central Europe. The use of writing remained very limited throughout this stage, and orality continued to play a most important role. The economical and social changes of the thirteenth century were drastic, and, although its chronological limits are approximative at most, it is clear that Bohemia, Poland and Hungary saw a new stage in the development of written culture at the end of the twelfth century.

The Church

One of the most important characteristics in the first stage of the introduction of writing is the virtual limitation of the use of the written word to Church activities. This institution was the first to use writing in its everyday business: in the liturgy, the *cura animarum* and in juridical matters.

Doubtlessly, the liturgical books, needed for worship, took pride of place in the production of written texts. In the first decades of Christianization, liturgical manuscripts were imported both by clerics and by the wives of the neophyte rulers. The greater part of the gospel books, benedictionals and homiliaries used by the bishopric of Prague came from Bavaria and Saxony, where the scriptoria had vigorously resumed copying in the second half of the tenth century.³⁸ The famous sacramentary of the episcopal library of Prague, for instance, was made at the Bavarian monastery of Isen.³⁹ Hungary, too had imperial connections (Passau,

³⁷ I. JONAS, "Les débuts de l'organisation de l'Église de Hongrie", in: *Gerbert l'Européen*, pp. 263-272, at p. 264. See p. 22 for charters in demotic Greek, issued by the Hungarian kings.

³⁸ VEZIN, "La production et la circulation des livres", p. 211.

³⁹ BUJNOCH, "Kirche und lateinische Literatur im Mittelalter", p. 359.

Regensburg),⁴⁰ but at the same sought contacts further afield. At the beginning of the eleventh century one observes the first relations with Lotharingia and France. These contacts were responsible for the importation of liturgical manuscripts such as the evangelistaries of Szelepcsényi and Oläh.⁴¹ As for Poland, the first liturgical manuscripts arrived with Dobrawa, the wife of Prince Mieszko I. According to the chronicler Gallus Anonymus († 1115/6), "she entered Poland with great ecclesiastical and religious pomp" in 965.⁴² An important part of the manuscripts imported in Poland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries came from Bavaria. The Missale Gnesnense of about 1000, as well as a series of *codices aurei*, give an impression of the importance of the Bavarian scriptoria for the acquisition of books by Polish churches.⁴³ Cologne and the Rhineland were another source of manuscripts, as witness the *Psalterium Egberti* and the sacramentary of Tyniec, in Polish possession since the eleventh century.⁴⁴ Many of the surviving liturgical books imported in Central Europe from the West were deluxe manuscripts, with texts written in gold or silver on purple parchment. It is hardly surprising that they were often stolen. This happened in Poland, for example, in the 1030s, during the political crisis known as the "pagan reaction". The importation of liturgical books continued until a relatively late date. During the twelfth century there were significant cultural contacts between Poland and the region of the Meuse. Alexander of Malonne, bishop of Płock (1129-1156), brought with him a pontifical written in romanesque

⁴⁰ *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. E. VÖLKL (Regensburg, 1988).

⁴¹ J. TOROK, "Influences lotharingiennes sur la liturgie d'Europe centrale autour de l'an Mil", in: *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, ed. D. IOGNA-PRAT and J.-Ch. PICARD (Paris, 1990), pp. 285-289; P. RADO, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest, 1973), pp. 230-236. Lotharingian influences are also found in eleventh-century Hungarian royal charters (Gy. GYORFFY, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei im 11. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 30 (1984), pp. 93-94).

⁴² Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica*, I, 5: "cum magno ... ecclesiastico religionis apparatu Poloniam introivit", ed. K. MALECZYŃSKI, *Galli Anonymi Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, new series 2 (Cracow, 1952), p. 15. On the author, see also *infra*, p. 20.

⁴³ A. GIEYSZTOR, "Symboles de la royauté en Pologne: un groupe de manuscrits du XI^e et du début du XII^e s.", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1990, pp. 132-133.

⁴⁴ For a codicological analysis of the oldest manuscripts in Poland, see: W. SEMKOWICZ, *Paleografia łacińska* [Latin palaeography] (Cracow, 1951), p. 294; E. POTKOWSKI, *Książka rękopiśmienna w kulturze Polski średniowiecznej* [The manuscript book in Polish medieval culture] (Warsaw, 1984).

minuscule.⁴⁵ Several manuscripts written in Northern France have also been identified.⁴⁶

Gradually, in response to the enhanced needs of the clergy after the stabilization of ecclesiastical structures, the first local scriptoria started to work. Clergymen were no longer content with liturgical books, and one also begins to find collections of canon law and homeliaries. The development of cathedral schools produced a demand for school texts. We have already mentioned Sázawa and its scriptorium, which proved to be very important for Bohemian book production. Equally important were the scriptorium of the first Benedictine nunnery at Prague, St. Georges (the first abbess of which was Mlada-Maria, the sister of duke Boleslas II), and of the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov.⁴⁷ In Hungary, the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma was famous for its school and scriptorium.⁴⁸ The first Polish scriptoria were those of the Benedictine abbeys founded in the second half of the eleventh century (Tyniec), and of the Cistercian foundations, which could be found especially in Silesia (Lubiąż).⁴⁹ From the second half of the eleventh century onwards, the scriptorium of Cracow cathedral was in operation; probably from the beginning of the twelfth century, it was joined by that of Gniezno cathedral. It is quite possible that in Poland the episcopal scriptoria were more significant for the introduction of literate modes of behaviour than those of the monasteries, if only because of the greater activity and creativity of the canons.⁵⁰

The first monastic and cathedral scriptoria were important for the beginnings of legal literacy. In all three Central European countries the Church was the first—and for a long time the only—institution capable of understanding the mean-

⁴⁵ *Pontyfikał plocki z XII wieku* [The eleventh-century pontifical of Plock], ed. A. PODLES (Plock, 1986).

⁴⁶ J. WORONCZAK, "Wpływy francuskie na piśmiennictwo polskie do końca XIII wieku" [French influences on Polish literature until the end of the thirteenth century], in: ID., *Studia o literaturze średniowiecza i renesansu* (Wrocław, 1994), p. 55.

⁴⁷ BUJNOCH, "Kirche und lateinische Literatur im Mittelalter", p. 360. See also: *Millénium brevnovského klátera (993-1993)* [The millenary of the monastery of Břevnov], ed. I. HLAVÁČEK and M. BLÁHOVA (Prague, 1993); BLÁHOVA, "Bischöfliche Beamte als Geschichtsschreiber", *passim*.

⁴⁸ NEMESKURTY, "The Middle Ages", p. 20.

⁴⁹ For the analysis of a Cistercian scriptorium, see: K.K. JAŹDZEWSKI, *Lubiąż: Losy i kultura umysłowa śląskiego opactwa cystersów (1163-1642)* [Lubiąż: History and intellectual culture of a Silesian Cistercian abbey] (Wrocław, 1993), pp. 174-239. See also: *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce* [History and culture of the Cistercians in old Poland], ed. J. STRZELCZYK (Poznań, 1987), and *Cystersi w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy* [The Cistercians in medieval European culture], ed. J. STRZELCZYK (Poznań, 1992).

⁵⁰ B. KURBIŚ, "Pisarze i czytelnicy w Polsce XII i XIII wieku" [Authors and readers in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Poland], in: *Polską dzielnicową i zjednoczoną*, ed. A. GIFYSZTOR (Warsaw, 1972), p. 172.

ing and use of keeping a record of gifts of property or of rights.⁵¹ The twelfth century saw a flourishing of fiscal and juridical exemptions bestowed on landed property. The ecclesiastical practice of writing down an *immunitas* stimulated the use of charters.⁵² The Church also contributed to the introduction of documents in public law by keeping records of its own juridical actions and by seeking similar documents from the sovereigns. Until the twelfth century, public law had had virtually no use for writing. When the legal use of the written word took off, charters for the Church (bishoprics and monasteries) were at first drafted by the clerics themselves, by the beneficiaries. Royal chanceries were to be developed only later on. The twelfth century also saw ecclesiastical institutions issuing charters in their own name. However, the use of these documents was not without juridical obstacles. In public law, ecclesiastical charters were considered private documents, valid only in canon law.⁵³ In Poland, this situation lasted even until the end of the Middle Ages. From the twelfth century onwards, bishops started to use seals to corroborate their documents. In Bohemia, the oldest preserved seal is that of Henry Zdík, bishop of Olomouc; it dates from around 1141.⁵⁴ In Poland, a document of 1153 has been sealed with the *sigillum* of Jan, archbishop of Gniezno.⁵⁵ The oldest Hungarian ecclesiastical documents date from the 1180s.⁵⁶

The State

Compared with the unequivocal development of ecclesiastical "pragmatic literacy", the place of the written word in state matters was much more limited. Oral modes of communication remained most important before the tribunals. It

⁵¹ KREJČIKOVÁ, "Introduction à la sigillographie tchèque", p. 36; I. BORSA and G. GYORFFY, "Actes privés, 'locus credibilis' et notariat dans la Hongrie médiévale", in: *Notariado público y documento privado de los orígenes al siglo XIV*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1989), 2, pp. 942-943.

⁵² A. GIEYSZTOR, "Les chartes de franchises urbaines et rurales en Pologne au XIII^e siècle", in: *Les libertés urbaines et rurales du XIII^e au XIV^e siècle*, ed. W. PREVENIER (Spa, 1968), p. 105.

⁵³ *Československá diplomatika*, ed. J. ŠEBANEK and J. FIALA (Prague, 1971), p. 37; L. MEZEY, "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der Glaubwürdigen Orte", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), pp. 290-302; K. SKUPIENSKI, *Funkcje małopolskich dokumentów w sprawach prywatnoprawnych do roku 1306* [The functions of private charters in Lesser Poland until 1306] (Lublin, 1990).

⁵⁴ KREJČIKOVÁ, "Introduction à la sigillographie tchèque", p. 63.

⁵⁵ See: Z. KOZŁOWSKA-BUDKOWA, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* [Repertory of Polish documents from the era of the Piasts] (Cracow, 1937), No. 55.

⁵⁶ L. SOLYMOSI, "Chartes archiépiscopales et épiscopales en Hongrie avant 1250", in: *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde*, pp. 159 sqq.

was to take a long time before documents were allowed to be used in public law. Only in the twelfth century the document was admitted on the same footing as oral testimony. The gradual growth in the role of documents was inspired by social, political and economical developments. In all three countries of Central Europe, the personal justice of the ruler was gradually abolished, and forms of local government developed which were very often controlled by the nobility of the region.⁵⁷ In Poland, divided into a series of small principalities from 1138 onwards, these processes were relatively strong. At the same time, a hierarchy of court officials and a chancery were brought into being. In all three countries, the *capella regia*, the circle of court chaplains, was the cradle of the chancery.

The beginnings of the Hungarian royal chancery are already clearly perceptible during the reign of St. Stephen, who after his coronation adopted the model of the imperial bureaucracy.⁵⁸ The chancery was officially organized by Béla III (1181-1190), who ordered that written proof be presented before the royal tribunal.⁵⁹ The position of chancellor was assumed by the archbishop of Esztergom. Around 1210 the chancery of the Hungarian queen appeared, with the bishop of Veszprem at its head.⁶⁰ In Bohemia, the twelfth century saw the setting up of the ducal, then royal chancery as the central organ of government. The post of chancellor pertained to the dignity of the provost of Vyšehrad (definitively from 1225 onwards).⁶¹ The origins of the Polish royal chancery are unclear. Because hardly a single document promulgated by a ruler from before the second half of the eleventh century exists,⁶² the opinion has gained ground that there existed no central chancery before the feudal dismemberment of the country of 1138. According to this view, one has to wait for the social and economical changes of the thirteenth century for the emergence of small chanceries fostered by the local princes. Never-

⁵⁷ For Hungary, see: D'ESZLARY, *Histoire des institutions publiques hongroises*, pp. 117 sqq.; E. FUGEDI, "Verba volant ... Oral culture and literacy among the medieval hungarian nobility", in: ID., *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. J.M. BAK (Aldershot, 1986), essay vi, pp. 1-25. For Poland, see: J. BIENIAK, "Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (cz. 1)" [The Polish political elite in the twelfth century (part 1)], in: *Spółeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej*, 7 vols., ed. S.K. KUCZYŃSKI (Warsaw, 1982), 2, pp. 7-83.

⁵⁸ GYORFFY, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei", pp. 88-89; D'ESZLARY, *Histoire des institutions publiques hongroises*, p. 116.

⁵⁹ D'ESZLARY, *Histoire des institutions publiques hongroises*, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁶¹ See *Československá diplomatika*, p. 52.

⁶² Until the end of the twelfth century there are only ten Polish royal charters, considered to be originals. See: I. SUŁKOWSKA-KURAS, "La typologie des actes royaux polonais avant 1200", in: *Typologie der Königsurkunden: Kolloquium de la Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.-3.9.1992*, ed. J. BISTRICKÝ (Olomouc, 1998), pp. 249-255.

theless, the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, written at the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions a chancellor Michal (Michael), a member of the most powerful Polish family of the time.⁶³ Debate on the beginnings of the Polish chancery is bound to continue...⁶⁴

The charters issued in the name of rulers are addressed primarily to ecclesiastical institutions. One of the oldest princely charters which has been preserved was issued for the Bohemian collegiate church of Litoměřice; it is dated 1057.⁶⁵ The oldest Hungarian royal documents date from the middle of the twelfth century.⁶⁶ Charters for laymen appear only in the thirteenth century, and it seems more than possible that oral procedures were long deemed sufficient for royal donations to laymen.⁶⁷

The first stage of the introduction of writing already saw some efforts at drawing up law codes. The legislative activities of the first Hungarian kings are astonishing. The statutes of Saint Stephen (1000-1030), Saint Ladislaus (1077-1095) and king Coloman (1095-1116) "constitute the foundation of the new monarchic and Christian order".⁶⁸ The decrees of the Czech prince Bretislav I, meant to reinforce secular and ecclesiastical power, were promulgated in 1039 during a war against Poland.⁶⁹ They are probably the oldest legislative texts of the Slavic world. The first Czech collection of customary law dates from 1189.⁷⁰ Bohemia was precocious within the Slavic world, for in Poland written law became possible only in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁷¹

⁶³ Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica*, II, Epistola, p. 60.

⁶⁴ See M. BIELIŃSKA, "W kwestii początków kancelarii polskiej" [Concerning the origins of the Polish central chancery], *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 13 (1968), pp. 63-71.

⁶⁵ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, 1, ed. G. FRIEDRICH (Prague, 1904-1907), No. 55. See also: J. BISTRICKÝ, "Übersicht über das Urkundenwesen der böhmischen Herrscher bis zum Jahre 1197", in: *Typologie der Königsurkunden*, pp. 227-233.

⁶⁶ See: Gy. GYÖRFFY, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden bis 1200", in: *Typologie der Königsurkunden*, pp. 259-270; MEZEY, "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn", *passim*.

⁶⁷ G. LABUDA, "Dokumenty i listy jako źródła do historii Czech i Moraw" [Charters and letters as sources for the history of Bohemia and Moravia], in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, 7 vols., ed. W. KOWALENKO a.o. (Warsaw, 1961), 1, p. 360.

⁶⁸ G. BÓNIS, J.M. BAK and J.R. SWEENEY, "Introduction", in: *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 3 vols. (Bakersfield, 1985-1990), 1, p. IX. This edition contains all Hungarian royal decreta from the Middle Ages with an English translation.

⁶⁹ See Cosmas of Prague, *Cronica Bohemorum*, II, 4, pp. 86-88.

⁷⁰ Opinion of J. HOENSCH, *Histoire de la Bohême* (Paris, 1995), p. 50.

⁷¹ Large-scale development of written law occurs during the reign of Kazimir the Great (1333-1370). See: S. ROMAN, *Geneza statutów Kazimierza Wielkiego: Studium źródłoznawcze* [The genesis of the statutes of Kazimir the Great: A study of the sources] (Cracow, 1961).

The royal and princely courts of Central Europe were the only lay milieux familiar with writing. Manuscripts were always present in the dowries brought by foreign princesses to the ruling families.⁷² The Přemyslids, Piasts and Arpads gave dozens of liturgical books to newly-founded churches. As in the West, gifts of this type were an instrument of royal propaganda, proof of largesse as well as proof of devotion. The presence of deluxe liturgical manuscripts in the royal treasury was a materialisation of the ties between the monarch and God, and a symbol of the sacral character of his power.⁷³

Literary Production

Both the needs of the Churches and of the courts stimulated the development of literary forms in Central Europe. They controlled both the forms and the genres practised. It is no coincidence that the first literary works were hagiographical by nature. The young Churches in all three countries needed texts to show the glory of its first saints in order to inspire devotion. In Bohemia and Hungary all saints of the "first generation" belonged to the ruling dynasties.⁷⁴ The wife of the first Christian Czech prince, Ludmila († around 921) and especially her grandson Venceslaus (Václav) († between 927 and 935) were the heroes of the first Bohemian hagiographical works.⁷⁵ In Hungary, hagiography treated three saints of the dynasty of the Arpads: Saints Stephen († 1038), Emeric († 1031) and Ladislaus († 1095).⁷⁶ In Poland, no member of the ruling dynasty was venerated, and hagiogra-

⁷² Richeza, the wife of the Polish king Mieszko II (1025-1032) e.g., who came from the region of Cologne, brought a copy with the *Annales* of Reichenau, and from Cologne the Psalter of Egbert. See: Z. SWIĄCHOWSKI, "Königin Richeza von Polen und die Beziehungen polnischer Kunst zu Köln im 11. Jahrhundert" *Kölner Domblatt* 40 (1975), pp. 27-48.

⁷³ R. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Princeps fundator* (Warsaw 1989, 1993) pp. 160 sqq. (see the review of A. RYBICKA-ADAMSKA in: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 86 (1991), pp. 608-609); GILYSZTOR, "Symboles de la royauté en Pologne", pp. 128-129.

⁷⁴ On the model of the holy king in Central Europe, see: F. GRAUS, "La sanctification du souverain dans l'Europe Centrale des X^e et XI^e siècles", in: *Hagiographie: Cultures et sociétés IV-XII^e s.* (Paris, 1981), pp. 559-565.

⁷⁵ The edition of all Bohemian narrative sources until the end of the twelfth century can be found in: *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. J. EMLER, I (Prague, 1873-1874). See also: D. TREŠTIK, *Počátky Přemyslovců* [The origins of the Přemyslids] (Prague, 1981); W. BAUMANN, *Die Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen* (Munich and Vienna, 1978).

⁷⁶ Edition of the *vitae* in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 2, ed. E. SZENTPÉTERY (Budapest, 1938). On the *vita* of St. Ladislaus, see: G. KLANICZAY and E. MADAS, "La Hongrie", in: *Hagiographies* 2, ed. G. PHILIPPART (Turnhout, 1996: *Corpus Christianorum* s.n.), pp. 105-161. G. KLANICZAY, "L'Image chevaleresque du saint roi au XII^e siècle", in: *La royauté sacrée dans*

phy concentrated on saints from ecclesiastical environments: St. Adalbert and the five hermits martyred in 1003.⁷⁷

We also have prayers and religious chants from the first stage of the introduction of writing. These genres seem rather more "fragile", as by nature they functioned according to the rules of orality. All the more interesting, therefore, is the eleventh-century collection of prayers contained in the Codex Gertrudianus. Its author probably was princess Gertrud, of the Piast dynasty.⁷⁸ From Bohemia come the hymns *Hospodine pomiluj ny* (datable to the tenth century) and *Svatý Václave* (twelfth century).⁷⁹

The first historiographical notices and works were doubtlessly inspired by lay environments. An aristocratic lay public of kings and powerful lords demanded stories about kings courageous in battle and wise in peacetime. Narratives of this kind are found in the work of an anonymous chronicler, generally known as Gallus Anonymus. In the years 1112-1115/6 he put into writing the oldest history of the Polish dynasty of the Piasts and their patrimony.⁸⁰ According to his own testimony, the work, written in rhythmical rimed prose, was written at the demand of Michał, chancellor to king Bolesław III the Wry-mouth. Bolesław himself had presented the author, who was a foreigner, with most of the necessary information.⁸¹ In this way, the oral traditions of the court were put into writing. The chronicle, which is trustworthy for the facts it contains, is the most important written source on the Polish early Middle Ages. Similar stories of heroism written for an aristocratic lay public can be found in Hungarian historiography. Probably around the turn of the eleventh century a series of historiographical notices was written, together known as the "lost *Gesta*", traces of which have been found in later historiographical works.⁸² The first of these extant works are the *Gesta Ungarorum*

monde occidental, ed. A. BOUREAU and C.-S. INGELFLOM (Paris, 1992), pp. 53-61.

⁷⁷ Edition of the *vitae* in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, new series 4,1-3, ed. J. KARWASIŃSKA (Warsaw, 1962-1973). See also: J. KARWASIŃSKA, *Pisma wybrane: Święty Wojciech* [Selected essays: St. Adalbert] (Warsaw, 1996). On Bruno of Querfurt, the author of these works, see p. 23.

⁷⁸ *Manuscriptum Gertrudae filiae Mesconis et regis Poloniae*, ed. W. MEYSZTOWICZ (Rome, 1955: *Antemurale* 2). See also: MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze*, pp. 99-102.

⁷⁹ Edited in MARES, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts*.

⁸⁰ Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica*, *passim*. The immense bibliography about the author and his work has recently been collected by Cz. DEPTUŁA, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski: Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* [The myth of the genesis of Poland according to Gallus Anonymus: A study of the historiography and the hermeneutics of symbols in medieval historiography] (Lublin, 1990).

⁸¹ Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica*, I, Epistola, p. 1.

⁸² MACARTNEY, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, pp. 20 sqq.

Anonymi, written around 1200.⁸³ The first Bohemian historiographical work, the chronicle of the Prague canon Cosmas, was conceived at the beginning of the twelfth century. He started his work in 1110, and continued it until his death in 1125.⁸⁴ The works mentioned may be considered "national chronicles" in that they give predominance in their country's history to the ruling dynasty; they present an "official" account of the beginning of the nation and the state. Naturally, the *origines* are accompanied by supernatural events to prove the exceptional origin of the dynasty. In this, they are altogether similar to the historiography of the "barbarian" peoples of the early medieval West, in which myths about origins also play an important role.⁸⁵ The second Polish chronicle, that of Magister Vincentius (ca. 1150-1223), presents a myth in which the Poles battle valiantly against Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.⁸⁶

Latin Literacy and the Central European Literates

After this short summary of the first presence of the written word in Central Europe, a few general remarks on the forms and levels of literacy seem in order.

The language of the written word was unquestionably Latin, although, as we have seen, there were exceptions to this rule. There are for instance charters of St. Stephen of Hungary in demotic Greek for the monastery of Veszprem, which followed the Orthodox rite.⁸⁷ From the twelfth century onwards, in Polish charters one finds ever more words in the vernacular, mainly legal terms, and place names.⁸⁸ As for liturgical texts, we have seen the exceptional plight of Bohemia, due to the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodios. Here, the use of the vernacular was not limited to the liturgy: the first Bohemian hagiographical texts were also written in the vernacular. The oldest version of the legend of St. Venceslaus, for

⁸³ *P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. A. JAKUBOVICH, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* 1 (Budapest, 1937), pp. 13-119, an edition which has recently been replaced by *Die "Gesta Hungarorum" des anonymen Notars*, ed. G. SILAGI (Sigmaringen, 1991).

⁸⁴ For the bibliography on Cosmas, see: D. TREŠTÍK, *Kosmova kronika* [The Chronicle of Cosmas] (Prague, 1968).

⁸⁵ DEPTUŁA, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski*, p. 158.

⁸⁶ *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. PLEZIA, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, new series 11 (Cracow, 1994). The bibliography has been collected in: "Mistrz Wincenty Kadłubek—pierwszy uczony polski—w 750-lecie śmierci" [Magister Vincentius as the first Polish scholar—on the 750th anniversary of his death], *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 20 (1976), pp. 3-132. On Magister Vincentius, see also *infra*, p. 25.

⁸⁷ GYORFFY, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei", pp. 91-92.

⁸⁸ MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze*, pp. 154-156.

instance, was written in Slavic.⁸⁹ At the end of the twelfth century the first texts written in Czech and Hungarian appear.⁹⁰ For the time being, however, Latin held sway in written culture.

It is worthwhile to reflect on the consequences of the diglossia written Latin–spoken vernacular, which was the norm here as elsewhere in medieval *Latinitas*. Problems might occur when juridical terms from oral customary law had to be expressed in Latin, the language of the first charters. Imported written Latin referred to different sets of legal realities.⁹¹ The vernaculars can be seen to enrich Latin vocabulary, thereby forming a Latin characteristic of Central Europe.⁹² At the same time, due to the Latin of the missionaries and the clerics who succeeded them, the vocabulary of the vernaculars was enriched by Latin. However, new words for religion and worship were often not borrowed from Latin directly, but through the intermediary of the German dialects of foreign clergymen. With the reception of Christianity came the gradual assimilation of certain elements of Western civilization, such as the ecclesiastical calendar and its Latin vocabulary and the institution of the school. The number of lexical borrowings in the vernaculars grew very slowly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Polish, for instance, kept almost all the names for the months it had known before the period of the Latinization of the calendar. Only the words for March (*marzec*) and May (*maj*) are loanwords.⁹³

In all three countries of Central Europe, the number of people having direct access to the written word was very limited in this first stage of the introduction of writing. The literates came exclusively from the secular and regular clergy. For a

⁸⁹ See: A. AVENARIUS, "Prvá slovanská Václavská legenda a slovanská kultura v Čechách v 10. století" [The first Life of St. Venceslaus and tenth-century Slavic culture in Bohemia], in: *Typologie rane feudálních slovanských států* (Prague, 1987), pp. 275–292.

⁹⁰ L. CZIGANY, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature* (Oxford, 1984), p. 16.

⁹¹ See e.g., A. BOGUCKI, "Z badań nad terminologią źródeł polskich do połowy XIV w." [Studies on the vocabulary of Polish sources until the middle of the fourteenth century], *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 19 (1974), pp. 38–45; K. ORZECOWSKI, "'Terra' w dokumentach śląskich do końca XIV wieku" ["Terra" in Silesian charters until the end of the fourteenth century], *Sobótka* 40 (1985), No. 2, pp. 225–251.

⁹² This becomes clear by leafing through the "national" dictionaries of medieval Latin: *Latinitatis mediæ ævii lexicon Bohemorum* (Prague, 1977-); *Lexicon mediæ et infimæ latinitatis Polonorum*, ed. M. PLEZIA (Cracow, 1957-); and *Lexicon latinitatis mediæ ævii Hungaricæ*, ed. J. HARMATTA and I. BORONKAI (Budapest, 1987-). See also: K. WEYSSENHOFF-BROZKOWA, *Wpływ polszczyzny na łacinę średniowieczną w Polsce* [The influence of the Polish language on medieval Latin in Poland] (Cracow, 1991), *passim*.

⁹³ J. DOWIAT, "Środki przekazywania myśli" [Means of communication], in: *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X–XIII w.* [The culture of medieval Poland, tenth–thirteenth centuries], ed. J. DOWIAT (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 206 sqq.

long time, they were also foreigners. In Bohemia and Poland, most bishops came from the Empire; in Hungary, most of them came from France. The author of the second legend of St. Adalbert (*Nascitur purpureus flos*) and of the *Life* of the five hermits, was Bruno of Querfurt (ca. 974-1009).⁹⁴ Another foreigner who influenced the culture of the written word in Poland was Gallus Anonymus, whom we have met before. Several generations of medievalists have tried to analyze the *descriptio* this anonymous chronicler gives of himself, and his declaration that he started his work "lest I ate Polish bread for nothing".⁹⁵ The present consensus seems to be that he was a French Benedictine, probably educated in the school of Hildebert of Lavardin.⁹⁶ Foreign contributions to Hungarian written culture were also considerable. Gellért (Gerhard), the bishop of Csanád and the author of the theological tract *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*⁹⁷ who was canonised in 1083, came from the North of Italy.⁹⁸ It was probably a monk from the Empire who, at the end of the eleventh century, wrote the *Legenda maior* of St. Stephen.⁹⁹

Only in the twelfth century do we encounter the first native literates. Then, the period of travels in search of Western scholastic erudition begins. For Central Europeans, Liège, Paris and Bologna became the main destinations. Ever more Czechs and Poles went to Italy, whereas the Hungarians had a strong preference for France. The two marriages of king Béla III (ca. 1148-1196) with French princesses (Anne of Châtillon and Marguerite Capet) as well as the activities of French clerics, especially Cistercians, were to lead to the permanent presence of Hungarian students at the University of Paris.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ *S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi Vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, ed. J. KARWASINSKA, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, new series 4,2 (Warsaw, 1969); *Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [scu] Vita uel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, ed. J. KARWASINSKA [in:] *ibid.* 4,3 (Warsaw, 1973).

⁹⁵ "... ne frustra panem polonicam manducarem" (Gallus Anonymus, *Chronica*, III, Epistola, p. 120).

⁹⁶ M. PLEZIA, "Nowe studia nad Gallem Anonimem", in: *Mente et litteris* (Poznań, 1984), pp. 65 sqq.

⁹⁷ *Sancti Gerardi Episcopi Chanadiensis Scripta et Acta*, ed. I. DE BATTYAN (Albo-Carolinae, 1970), pp. 1-297. See: L. SZÉGFÜ, "La missione politica ed ideologica di San Gerardo in Ungheria", in: *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. V. BRANCA (Florence, 1973), pp. 23-36.

⁹⁸ See: G. SILAGI, "Gerhard", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 4, col. 1312.

⁹⁹ MACARTNEY, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰ E. FUGEDI, "Les intellectuels et la société dans la Hongrie médiévale", in: *Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois*, ed. J. LE GOFF and B. KOPECZI (Budapest and Paris, 1975), reprint: in: *ID, Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, Essay VII, pp. 1-14.

The first generation of native authors begins with Cosmas, the Prague canon who wrote the first Bohemian chronicle († 1125). His knowledge of Classical authors and of the *ars dictandi* was acquired at the renowned cathedral school of Liège.¹⁰¹ In the thirties of the twelfth century, one of the first Polish intellectuals, Jan, archbishop of Gniezno, had probably studied there as well.¹⁰² Around 1200, Poland will possess in Magister Vincentius Kadlubek a learned chronicler whose erudition is even more impressive than that of Cosmas. Having studied at Bologna, he left an account of Polish history which is at the same time a political and philosophical treatise, full of quotations from *auctores*, theological and juridical works.¹⁰³

Two important groups of milieux can be distinguished among these clerical literates. The first is that of the cathedral milieux centred on the bishops. Rather than the monasteries, the cathedrals were the first intellectual centres of Central Europe. Everywhere it was at the cathedrals that the first systematic annalistic records were kept. In Prague annalistic notices are made from the tenth century onwards (although the exact date at which they were begun is still in dispute).¹⁰⁴ In Poland, because of the pagan reaction which destroyed Gniezno in the middle of the eleventh century, the cathedral milieu of Cracow became the predominant centre of learning. It was here that annals began to be kept and a relatively large library was collected, the contents of which are known through inventories drawn up in 1101 and 1110. Among the titles of its 53 manuscripts can be found texts of Boethius, Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville, but also Classical authors such as Sallust and Terence.¹⁰⁵

The second group of milieux was that of the central (most often royal) chanceries. They were true concentrations of literates, and in time became centres of intellectual and literary life.¹⁰⁶ The Hungarian royal chancery, for instance, whose structures were influenced by those of the Empire and France, saw the compilation

¹⁰¹ TREŠTÍK, *Kosmova kronika*, *passim*.

¹⁰² See: B. KURBIS, "Cystersi w kulturze polskiego średniowiecza: Trzy świadectwa z XII wieku" [The Cistercians in medieval Polish culture: Three witnesses of the twelfth century], in: *Historia i kultura cystersów*, pp. 321-342.

¹⁰³ See note 83.

¹⁰⁴ BUJNOCH, "Kirche und lateinische Literatur im Mittelalter", p. 361, and, for a different opinion, TREŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 104-114.

¹⁰⁵ MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁶ On the cultural role of the medieval chanceries see, in general: *Cancellaria e cultura nel Medio Evo: Journées d'Etudes de la Commission internationale de diplomatique, Stuttgart, 29-30 août 1985* (Vatican, 1990), and in particular R.-H. BAUTIER, "Chancellerie et culture au Moyen Âge", *ibid.*, pp. 1-75.

of historiographical works.¹⁰⁷ Each chancery expressed in its literary output the will and interests of the monarch.

What was the level of access to writing of the members of the ruling dynasties, who formed the apex of the lay elites? Were they able to read, and thereby to enter the world of the *litterati*? Unfortunately, our knowledge of this topic is limited. Nevertheless there are sources for each dynasty of Central Europe. As we have already observed, the Přemyslids learned to read with the aid of psalters in Latin and Slavic. That the girls, too, may have learnt to read, can be concluded from the observation that princess Mlada-Maria was "learned in the Scriptures".¹⁰⁸ According to his *Legenda minor*, the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen, not only learnt to read, but also to write.¹⁰⁹ However, the hagiographical character of the *Legend* calls for some doubts about the reliability of this observation. As for the Piasts, we have a snippet of information about the education of king Mieszko II (1025-1034). At the beginning of his reign (1025-1027), he received a deluxe copy of the *Liber officiorum* of Ps.-Alcuin from Matilda, the daughter of Hermann, Prince of Suabia. Matilda at the time was married to the duke Frederick of Lorraine (1026-1033). In the letter accompanying the gift, the young addressee's Christian and royal virtues are praised together with his linguistic abilities: "Who has put together so many languages in the praise of God? Whereas you might have venerated God decently in your own language and in Latin, that was not enough for you, and you wished to add Greek to them".¹¹⁰ One is led to think that his linguistic ability means that Mieszko was able to read Scripture in three languages. Where Mieszko learnt to read is not clear. Maybe the study of Greek was

¹⁰⁷ MALYUSZ, "La chancellerie royale et la rédaction des chroniques", *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ "... sacris litteris erudita" (Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicon*, pars I, 22, p. 42).

¹⁰⁹ *Et puer adhuc scientia grammaticae artis ad plene imbutus est (Legenda sancti Stephani regis minor)*, ed. E. BARTONIEK (Budapest, 1938: *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* 2.3).

¹¹⁰ "Quis in laudem Dei totidem coadunavit linguas? cum in propria et in latina Deum digne venerari posses, in hoc tibi non satis, graecam superaddere maluisti", ed. as: "List Matyldy do Miecysława II" [The letter of Matilda to Miecysław II] by A. BIEŁOWSKI, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 1 (Lwów, 1864), p. 323. See E. MÜLLER, "Epistola Mathildis: Eine wiederaufgefundene Handschrift", *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 26 (1981), pp. 73-78; G. LABUDA, *Mieszko II, Król Polski (1025-1034)* [Mieszko II, King of Poland (1025-1034)] (Cracow, 1992), pp. 62 sq.

already possible in the surroundings of the first archbishops of Gniezno?¹¹¹ Or maybe Matilda merely exaggerated Mieszko's abilities?

Illiterates

It is clear that in the first stage of the introduction of writing the uses of the written word were quite limited. Equally limited was the number of people who had reason to resort to writing and had the ability to do so. Writing functioned rather like a supplementary form of communication, with the bulk of the population unable to participate in Latin written culture. If laymen used graphic symbols at all in everyday life, they were not alphabetical. Pictograms and geometrical designs to mark roads and properties did exist. In Silesia, for example, even today the thirteenth-century pillars that demarcated the property of the bishops of Wrocław remain *in situ*, engraved with crosses and croziers.¹¹² These signs were clear to illiterates, and may be considered a substitute for writing. But laymen did not themselves use the alphabet.

Illiterates came into contact with written texts when they saw the inscriptions in churches, the legends on coins and on seals.¹¹³ Coins, produced by the thousand, mobile and durable by their very nature, carried messages which were recognized as such. Being able to read accurately their signs was a different matter. Even if they were conscious of the importance of inscriptions, illiterates needed help to understand them. This type of contact with writing may easily have led to the use of writing and written texts for magical purposes.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ LABUDA, *Mieszko II*, pp. 27-28; J. DOWIAT, "Kształcenie umysłowe synów książęcych i możnowładczych w Polsce i niektórych krajach sąsiednich w X-XII w. [The education of the sons of princes and noblemen in Poland and in neighbouring countries, tenth-twelfth centuries], in: *Polska w świetle* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 57-93. B. KURBIŚ, "Slavisch, Lateinisch und Griechisch. An der Schwelle der lateinischen Schriftkultur in Polen", in: *Lateinische Kultur im 10. Jahrhundert: Akten des 1. Internationalen Mittelalter-Kongresses, Heidelberg 12-15. IX. 1988*, ed. W. BERSCHIN (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 235-248.

¹¹² DOWIAT, "Środki przekazywania myśli", pp. 225 sqq.

¹¹³ R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Moneta w kulturze wieków średnich* [Coinage in medieval culture] (Warsaw, 1988).

¹¹⁴ On this topic, see, in general: M. MOSTERT, "La magie de l'écrit dans le haut Moyen Âge: Quelques réflexions générales", in: *Haut Moyen Âge: Culture, éducation et société: Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. M. SOT (Paris, 1990), pp. 272-281; ID., "De magie van het geschreven woord", in: *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom: Studies over ritueel en magie in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. DEMYTTENAERE (Hilversum, 1995: *Amsterdamse Historische Reeks: Grote Serie 22*), pp. 61-100.

The Next Stages in the Introduction of Writing

The situation begins to change in the thirteenth century, which signified a new stage in the development of literate modes of behaviour in the three countries of Central Europe. Characteristic of this new stage is the astonishing take-off of pragmatic literacy in response to factors which changed the economy and the social structures of the region. The "German colonization" East of the Elbe, or rather the "colonization according to German law", was followed by economic prosperity and the development of town life. Towns were to make excellent use of the possibilities of writing. One also sees the reception of Roman law in political ideology. The implementation of the model of the sovereign monarch as expressed in the concept of the *Corona regni* needed an efficacious bureaucracy. The first universities in Central Europe, those of Prague (founded in 1346) and Cracow (founded in 1363 and re-founded in 1400) became the nursery of indigenous intellectual milieux that did no longer feel the need to set off for Italy or France in search of an education. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the vernaculars were emancipated and become languages of writing. The Czech language was the first to be written down; the Hussite revolution of 1416 was to accelerate the development of Czech as a literary language.

The fifteenth century may be characterized as the third and final phase of the introduction of writing, when the written word permeates the fibre of Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian social life—even if there remain certain areas in which orality continues to be preeminent. Central Europe participates actively in European cultural exchange, digesting Renaissance thought and providing the budding Reformation with some of its more radical ideas.

Although in the space of an article it is impossible to deal with all aspects of the topic, I hope to have shown at least the outline of the process. As with the study of medieval written communication in Western Europe, much may be hoped from rereading the written sources from this relatively new perspective. A comparison with post-Roman Western Europe also imposes itself. Only if the cultural history of the "peripheral" zones of Western civilization is taken on board, may one discern what was common to the development of literacy, and what was merely peculiar to a particular region. A comparative approach on a pan-European level is needed in order to answer the general question whether there was indeed a single process of "literation", and, if so, where it originated. A comparative approach on the level of Central Europe is needed to find out which characteristics of "literation" were common to Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, and in which

respects these countries went their different ways. Much research remains to be done before even an approximate answer to these questions may be given.¹¹⁵

Next page:

Bohemia, Poland and Hungary 1050-1300.

From: *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. C.W. PREVITÉ-ORTON and Z.N. BROOKE, *Volume of Maps* (Cambridge, 1936), Map 63.

¹¹⁵ The development of this theme is in preparation for a volume to be published in *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*.

A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication

MARCO MOSTERT

<i>1. Introductions</i>	195
1.1 Theory of literacy and (written) communication; 1.2 Orality versus the culture of the written word (in the Middle Ages); 1.3 Anthropological and sociological contributions to the debate; 1.4 Psychological contributions to the debate	
<i>2. Surveys of the introduction and development of written culture</i>	201
2.1 From Antiquity to the present; 2.2 Antiquity; 2.3 Byzantium; 2.4 The Middle Ages; 2.5 Italy; 2.6 Iberian peninsula; 2.7 France; 2.8 Germany; 2.9 Low Countries; 2.10 England; 2.11 Ireland and the "Celtic fringe"; 2.12 Scandinavia; 2.13 Central and Eastern Europe; 2.14 Jews; 2.15 After the Middle Ages	
<i>3. Forms of non-verbal communication</i>	218
3.1 Smells; 3.2 Colours; 3.3 Gestures; 3.4 Symbolic objects; 3.5 Clothes; 3.6 Visual arts; 3.7 Visual images and texts; 3.8 Music	
<i>4. Ritual</i>	225
4.1 Political ritual and ceremony	
<i>5. Oral communication</i>	228
5.1 Silence; 5.2 Language; 5.3 The problem of Latin; 5.4 The problem of the vernaculars	

6. <i>Oral and written memory</i>	234
6.1 Classical Antiquity; 6.2 Middle Ages; 6.3 "Lieux de mémoire"; 6.4 The past in primarily oral societies; 6.5 Oral tradition	
7. <i>Teaching, mainly of reading and writing</i>	242
7.1 Antiquity; 7.2 Middle Ages	
8. <i>Production and use of written texts</i>	246
8.1 Script and script forms; 8.2 Book production and use; 8.3 Reading and the reception of texts; 8.4 The printed word	
9. <i>The preservation of written texts</i>	260
10. <i>Correspondence</i>	260
11. <i>Mandarin literacy</i>	261
12. <i>The use of writing by different social groups</i>	262
12.1 Clergy and laymen; 12.2 Aristocrats; 12.3 Peasants; 12.4 Town dwellers; 12.5 Women	
13. <i>The use of writing in government, management and trade</i>	268
13.1 Legislation; 13.2 Charters; 13.3 Jurisdiction and dispute settlement; 13.4 Government; 13.5 Management; 13.6 Trade	
14. <i>Literature</i>	276
14.1 "Oral" literature; 14.2 The composition of oral literature; 14.3 Performance; 14.4 Iberian literature; 14.5 Italian literature; 14.6 French literature; 14.7 German literature; 14.8 Dutch literature; 14.9 Old English literature; 14.10 Middle English literature; 14.11 Celtic literature; 14.12 Scandinavian literature; 14.13 Central and Eastern European literature; 14.14 Arab and Middle Eastern literatures	
15. <i>Religion and writing</i>	292
15.1 Middle Ages and early modern times; 15.2 Hagiography; 15.3 Magic of the written word	
16. <i>The symbolism of the book</i>	296
Subject index	297
Index of modern authors and editors	304

This bibliography is not meant to be inclusive; it is merely hoped it will be of some service to the scholar who wishes to investigate certain aspects of medieval communication.

In many cases it proved difficult to decide under which heading a title might best be placed. It is clear that there is an important amount of overlap between the sections of the bibliography. This is also evident from the internal cross-references, which more often than not refer to works in other sections. To make sure the user will find all titles relevant to his interests, two indices have been added, consultation of which will probably prove rewarding.

The bibliography is based on an earlier effort, published in 1995 in *Communicatie in de Middeleeuwen* (No. 189 in the present bibliography). It numbered a mere 702 titles, whereas the present bibliography numbers 1580 titles. The increase is due not only to the continuing interest of medievalists in matters relating to medieval communication, but also by the inclusion of several new sections. In addition, an effort has been made to include a representative selection of work done in Scandinavia and the countries of East Central Europe.

Many have brought publications to my attention. In particular I would like to thank the members of the "Pionier project Verschriftelijking" of the University of Utrecht (among whom Anna Adamska was responsible for most of the references to Czech, Polish and Hungarian materials), Michael Clanchy (London) and Inger Larsson (Stockholms Universitet). Janneke Raaijmakers, now of the University of Amsterdam, helped compile an impressive list of additions to the 1995 bibliography on the basis of the electronic *International Medieval Bibliography* and the *International Bibliography of the Modern Languages Association*. Needless to say, all errors and inconsistencies in the following pages are my own.

1. Introductions

1.1 Theory of Literacy and (Written) Communication

- 1 BARTOLI LANGELI, A., "(Alfabetismo e cultura scritta:) Premessa alla parte monografica", *Quaderni storici* 38 (1978), pp. 437-450.
- 2 BARTOLI LANGELI, A., "Storia dell'alfabetismo e metodo quantitativo", *Annuario de estudios medievales* 21 (1991), pp. 347-367.
- 3 BIZZELL, P., "Arguing about literacy", *College English* 50 (1988), pp. 141-153.
- 4 BORMUTH, J.R., "Value and volume of literacy", *Visible Language* 12 (1978), pp. 118-161.

- 5 CAMPBELL, J., *Grammatical Man: Information, Entropy, Language and Life* (Harmondsworth, 1982).
- 6 CAREY, J.W., "A cultural approach to communication", *Communication* 2 (1975), pp. 1-22.
- 7 *Communication Theory Today*, ed. D. CROWLEY and D. MITCHELL (Cambridge, 1994).
- 8 COOK-GUMPERZ, J., and J.J. GUMPERZ, "From oral to written culture: The transition to literacy", in: *Writing: The Nature, Development and Teaching of Written Communication*, ed. M.F. WHITEMAN, 2 vols. (New Jersey, 1981), pp. 89-109.
- 9 DAUZAT, S.V., and J.A. DAUZAT, "Literacy: In quest of a definition", *Convergence* 10 (1977), pp. 37-41.
- 10 EHLICH, K., "Funktion und Struktur schriftlicher Kommunikation", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 18-41.
- 11 EISENBERG, P., "Sprachsystem und Schriftsystem", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1368-1380.
- 12 ESCARFIT, R., *L'écrit et la communication*, 3rd edn. (Paris, 1984: *Que sais-je?* 546).
- 13 EVANS, J.D., "Medieval studies and semiotics: Perspectives on research", *Semiotica* 63 (1987), pp. 13-32.
- 14 GEIER, M., "Sekundäre Formen der Schrift", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 678-686.
- 15 GLUCK, H., "Schriften im Kontakt", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 745-766.
- 16 GOODMAN, T.A., "On literacy", *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1996), pp. 459-472.
- 17 GUIRAUD, P., *La Sémiologie* (Paris, 1971) [English tr.: *Semiology* (London, 1975)].
- 18 HABERMAS, J., *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (Boston, 1979).
- 19 HARRIS, R., *The Origin of Writing* (London, 1986).
- 20 HARRIS, R., "Écriture et notation" [preceded by a "Presentation" by E. FERREIRO], in: No. 64, pp. 11-44.
- 21 HARRIS, R., "Writing and Notation", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1559-1568
- 22 HARRIS, R., *Signs of Writing* (London, 1995).
- 23 *Kulturelle Perspektiven auf Schrift und Schreibprozesse: Elf Aufsätze zum Thema "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit"*, ed. W. RAIBLE (Tübingen, 1995: *Script-Oralia* 72).
- 24 LEACH, E., *Culture and Communication: The Logic by Which Symbols are Connected: An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1976).
- 25 *Materialität der Kommunikation*, ed. H.U. GUMBRECHT and K.L. PFEIFFER (Frankfurt a.M., 1988).
- 26 OOMKES, F.R., *Communicatieleer: Een inleiding* (Meppel and Amsterdam, 1986).

- 27 RAUMOLIN-BRUNBERG, H., "Historical sociolinguistics", in: *Sociolinguistics and Language History: Studies Based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, ed. T. NEVALAINEN and H. RAUMOLIN-BRUNBERG (Amsterdam, 1996: *Language and Computers: Studies in Practical Linguistics* 15), pp. 11-37.
- 28 SHANNON, C.E., "The mathematical theory of communication", in: C.E. SHANNON and W. WEAVER, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana, Ill., 1949), pp. 29-115.
- 29 *The Social Construction of Literacy*, ed. J. COOK-GUMPERZ and J.J. GUMPERZ (Cambridge, 1986).
- 30 WILLIAMS, R., *Communications*, 3rd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1976).

1.2 Orality Versus the Culture of the Written Word (in the Middle Ages)

- 31 BAUML, F.H., "Medieval literacy and illiteracy: An essay toward the construction of a model", in: *Germanic Studies in Honor of Otto Springer*, ed. S.J. KAPLOWITT (Pittsburgh, 1978), pp. 41-54.
- 32 BAUML, F.H., "Varieties and consequences of medieval literacy and illiteracy", *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 237-265.
- 33 BAUML, F.H., "The disappearance of the text", in: No. 71, pp. 83-86.
- 34 BETTEN, A., "Zur Problematik der Abgrenzung von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit bei mittelalterlichen Texten", in: *Neuere Forschungen zur historischen Syntax des Deutschen: Referate der internationalen Fachkonferenz Eichstätt 1989*, ed. A. BETTEN and C.M. RIEHL (Tübingen, 1990: *Reihe Germanistische Linguistik* 103), pp. 324-335.
- 35 BRANDT, R., "Phänomene 'struktureller Amnesie' in der Schriftkultur des Mittelalters: Nebst zweier polemischer Clag-reden über Interdisziplinarität und den morbus nostalgicus Ong", in: *Vergessen: Entdecken: Erhellen: Literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze*, ed. J. DREWS (Bielefeld, 1993: *Bielefelder Schriften zu Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft* 2), pp. 31-56.
- 36 CLANCHY, M.T., "Introduction", in this volume, pp. 3-13.
- 37 DAVIS, A.B., "Epilogue: De Scientia Interpretandi: Oral tradition and the place of other theories in the graduate curriculum", in: *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies*, ed. A.J. FRANTZEN (Albany, 1991: *SUNY Studies in Medieval Studies*), pp. 211-24.
- 38 DE JONG, M., "Het perkamenten woord: Over schrift en cultuur in de vroege Middeleeuwen", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 106 (1993), pp. 10-22.
- 39 DE JONG, M., "Geletterd en ongeletterd: Zin en onzin van een tegenstelling", in: No. 203, pp. 9-31.
- 40 DOWNES, J., "Or(e)ality: The nature of truth in oral settings", in: No. 669, pp. 129-144.

- 41 EYRE C., and J. BAINES, "Interactions between orality and literacy", in: No. 123,
pp. 91-119.
- 42 FINNEGAN, R.H., "What is orality, if anything?", *Byzantine and Modern Greek
studies* 14 (1990), pp. 130-150.
- 43 FLETCHER, B.Y., and A.L. HARRIS, "On the concept of 'popular' in Middle Eng-
lish poetry", *English Studies* 73 (1992), pp. 292-299.
- 44 GATCH, M. McC., "The medievalist and cultural literacy", *Speculum* 66 (1991),
pp. 591-604.
- 45 GOETSCH, P., "Der Übergang von Mündlichkeit zu Schriftlichkeit: Die kultur-kri-
tischen Implikationen der Theorien von McLuhan, Goody und Ong", in: *Symboli-
sche Formen-Medien-Identität: Jahrbuch 1989-90 des Sonderforschungsbereichs
"Übergänge und Spannungsfelder zwischen Mündlichkeit und
Schriftlichkeit"*, ed. W. RAIBLE (Tübingen, 1991: *ScriptOralia* 37), pp. 113-129.
- 46 GREEN, D.H., "Orality and reading: The state of research in medieval studies",
Speculum 65 (1990), pp. 267-280.
- 47 HAVELOCK, E.A., *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy
from Antiquity to the Present* (London and New Haven, 1986).
- 48 HENIGE, D., "Oral, but oral what? The nomenclatures of orality and their implica-
tions", *Oral Tradition* 3 (1988), pp. 229-238.
- 49 HORNBERGER, N.H., "Oral and literate cultures", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 424-431.
- 50 LUMPP, R.F., "Walter Jackson Ong, S.J.: A biographical portrait", *Oral Tradition*
2 (1987), pp. 13-30.
- 51 MCKITTERICK, R., "Introduction", in: No. 231, pp. 1-10.
- 52 MCKITTERICK, R., "Conclusion", *ibid.*, pp. 319-333.
- 53 MOSTERT, M., "Communicatie in de Middeleeuwen", in: No. 189, pp. 9-20.
- 54 MOSTERT, M., "Het gesproken en geschreven woord in de Middeleeuwen", *The-
oretische Geschiedenis* 22 (1995), pp. 135-148.
- 55 MOSTERT, M., "De geschiedenis van lezen en schrijven—een nieuwe vorm van
cultuurgeschiedenis", *Theoretische Geschiedenis: Beelden, begrippen, ideeën*
23 (1996), pp. 129-144.
- 56 MOSTERT, M., "New approaches to medieval communication?", in this volume,
pp. 15-37.
- 57 OESTERREICHER, W., "Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung im Kontext medialer
und konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 230, pp. 267-292.
- 58 OGDEN, D.B., "Where lies your text?", in: No. 71, pp. 59-71.
- 59 ONG, W.J., *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Re-
ligious History* (New Haven, 1967).
- 60 ONG, W.J., *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of
Expression and Culture* (Ithaca and London, 1971).
- 61 ONG, W.J., "Orality-literacy studies and the unity of the human race", *Oral Tra-
dition* 2 (1987), pp. 371-382.

- 62 ONG, W.J., "Before textuality: Orality and interpretation", *Oral Tradition* 3 (1988), pp. 259-269.
- 63 *Proceedings of the Workshop on Contexts of Literacy; Nice, France, 21-24 September 1994*, ed. U. FRITH a.o. (Strasbourg, 1994).
- 64 *Proceedings of the Workshop on Orality versus Literacy: Concepts, Methods and Data; Siena, Italy, 24-26 September 1992*, ed. C. PONTECORVO and C. BLANCHE-BENVENISTE (Strasbourg, 1993).
- 65 *Proceedings of the Workshop on Understanding Early Literacy in a Developmental and Cross-Cultural Approach; Wassenaar, the Netherlands 7-9 October 1993*, ed. L. VERHOEVEN and A. TEBEROSKY (Strasbourg, 1994).
- 66 RAIBLE, W., "Orality and Literacy", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 1-17.
- 67 SCHAEFER, U., "Zum Problem der Mündlichkeit", in: *Modernes Mittelalter: Neues Bild einer populären Epoche*, ed. J. HEINZLE (Frankfurt a.M., 1994), pp. 357-375.
- 68 SCHLIEBEN-LANGE, B., "Geschichte der Reflexion über Schrift und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 102-121.
- 69 *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* 1, ed. A. ASSMANN, J. ASSMANN and C. HARDMEIER (Munich, 1983).
- 70 STREET, B.V., "Orality and literacy as ideological constructions: Some problems in cross-cultural studies", *Culture and History* 2 (1987), pp. 7-30.
- 71 *Talks on Text. Papers Read at the Closing Session of the NIAS Theme Group "Orality and Literacy" on May 27th, 1992*, ed. W.P. GERRITSEN and C. VELLEKOOP (Wassenaar, 1992).
- 72 VESSEY, M., "Literacy and *litteratura* A.D. 200-800", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, NS 13 (1992), pp. 139-160.
- 73 VITZ, E.B., "On the role of a renewed philology in the study of a manuscript- and an oral-culture", in: *Towards a Synthesis? Essays on the New Philology*, ed. K. BUSBY (Amsterdam, 1993: *Faux Titre* 68), pp. 71-78.
- 74 WESTRA, H., "Literacy, orality and medieval patronage: A phenomenological outline", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), pp. 52-59.

1.2.1 The Münster School

- 75 "Der Münsterer Sonderforschungsbereich 231 'Träger, Felder, Formen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter' ", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990), pp. 430-459; 25 (1991), pp. 462-466; 26 (1992), pp. 440-466; 27 (1993), pp. 480-483; 28 (1994), pp. 436-474; 29 (1995), pp. 456-459; 30 (1996), pp. 425-470; 31 (1997), pp. 414-417; 32 (1998), pp. 442-473.

1.2.2 The Freiburg School

- 76 RAIBLE, W., "Übergänge und Spannungsfelder zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit: Forschungsprogramm des Sonderforschungsbereichs 321 an der Universität Freiburg", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes* 33 (1986), pp. 14-23.

1.3 Anthropological and Sociological Contributions to the Debate

- 77 CARTER, C.J., *The Transition from Oral Tradition to Written Convention: Parallels in Medieval French Literature and Contemporary African Literature* (diss. Washington, Catholic University of America, 1986).
- 78 CRUIKSHANK, J., "Oral tradition and material culture: Multiplying meanings of 'words' and 'things' ", *Anthropology Today* 8 (1992), pp. 5-9.
- 79 ELWERT, G., "Die Verschriftlichung von Kulturen: Skizze einer Forschung", *Sociologus* 36 (1986), pp. 65-78.
- 80 FABIAN, J., "Keep listening: Ethnography and reading", in: No. 868, pp. 80-97.
- 81 FINNEGAN, R., *Oral Literature in Africa* (Oxford, 1970).
- 82 FINNEGAN, R., *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford, 1988).
- 83 GOODY, J., *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge, 1977).
- 84 GOODY, J., "Alternative paths to knowledge in oral and literate cultures", in: *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*, ed. D. TANNEN (Norwood, NJ, 1982: *Advances in Discourse Processes* 9), pp. 201-215.
- 85 GOODY, J., *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge, 1986).
- 86 GOODY, J., *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987).
- 87 GOODY, J., "On the threshold to literacy", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 432-436.
- 88 GOODY, J., B. STOCK a.o., "Selections from the symposium on 'Literacy, reading and power' ...", *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 2 (1988), pp. 193-232.
- 89 GOODY, J., and I. WATT, "The consequences of literacy", in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1963), pp. 304-345; reprinted in: No. 92, pp. 27-68, and in: No. 131, pp. 3-27.
- 90 GOODY, J., I. WATT and K. GOUGH, *Entstehung und Folgen der Schriftkultur*, tr. F. HERBORTH (Frankfurt a.M., 1986).
- 91 GRAFF, H.J., *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987).
- 92 *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J. GOODY (Cambridge, 1968).
- 93 SCHMITZ, H.W., *Ethnographie der Kommunikation: Kommunikationsbegriff und Ansätze zur Erforschung von Kommunikationsphänomenen in der Völker-*

kunde (Hamburg, 1975: *Forschungsberichte des Instituts für Kommunikationsforschung und Phonetik der Universität Bonn* 49).

- 94 STUBBS, M., *Language and Literacy: The Sociolinguistics of Reading and Writing* (London and Boston, 1980).

1.4 Psychological Contributions to the Debate

- 95 CAROTHER, J.C., "Culture, psychiatry and the written word", *Psychiatry* 22 (1959), pp. 307-320.
- 96 COLE, M., "How education affects the mind", *Human Nature* (April, 1978), pp. 51-58.
- 97 HORTON, R., and R. FINNEGAN, *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies* (London, 1973).
- 98 IRIS, M.A., a.o., "Moving towards literacy by making definitions", *International Journal of Lexicography* 1 (1988), pp. 238-252.
- 99 LURIA, A.R., *Cognitive Development: Its Cultural and Social Foundations*, tr. M. LOPEZ-MORILLAS and L. SOLOTAROFF, ed. M. COLE (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).
- 100 OLSON, D.R., "The cognitive consequences of literacy", *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne* 27 (1986), pp. 109-121.
- 101 OLSON, D.R., *The World on Paper: The Conceptual and Cognitive Implications of Reading and Writing* (Cambridge, 1994).
- 102 ONG, W.J., *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca and London, 1977).
- 103 ONG, W.J., "Writing is a technology that restructures thought", in: No. 139, pp. 23-50.
- 104 ONG, W.J., "Some psychodynamics of orality", in: No. 131, pp. 28-43.
- 105 DE MATTOS PIMENTA PARENTE, M.A., and A.R. LECOURS, "The influence of cultural factors in neuropsychology and neurolinguistics", *International Social Science Journal* 40 (1988), pp. 97-108.
- 106 RUBIN, D.C., "Text, thought, and oral traditions", in: No. 71, pp. 5-12.
- 107 RUBIN, D.C., *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (Oxford and New York, 1995).
- 108 SCRIBNER, S., and M. COLE, *The Psychology of Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1981).

2. Surveys of the Introduction and Development of Written Culture

- 109 *Mündlichkeit-Schriftlichkeit-Weltbildwandel*, ed. W. RÖCKE and U. SCHAEFER (Tübingen, 1996: *ScriptOralia* 71).

2.1 From Antiquity to the present

- 110 BALDINI, M., *Storia della comunicazione* (Rome, 1995).
- 111 BIERE, B.U., "Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit-Vereinheitlichung und Verständlichkeit: Eine historisch-systematische Skizze", in: *Germanistik-Forschungsstand und Perspektiven: Vorträge des Deutschen Germanistentages*, ed. G. STOTZEL, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1985), 1, pp. 346-365.
- 112 BLAKE, N.F., "Speech and writing: An historical overview", *Yearbook of English Studies* 25 (1995), pp. 6-21.
- 113 CHARTIER, R., *Literacy in European History* (Oxford, 1998) [in the press].
- 114 CIPOLLA, C., *Literacy and Development in the West* (Harmondsworth, 1969).
- 115 *La comunicazione nella storia*, 2 vols. in 6 (Rome, s.d.).
- 116 *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age*, ed. T. ENOS (New York, 1996).
- 117 GLUCK, H., *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit: Eine sprach- und kulturwissenschaftliche Studie* (Stuttgart, 1987).
- 118 GRAFF, H.J., *Literacy in History: An Interdisciplinary Research Bibliography* (New York and London, 1981).
- 119 GRAFF, H.J., *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington, 1987).
- 120 HAJNAL, E., "Le rôle social de l'écriture et l'évolution européenne", *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie* 14 (1934), pp. 23-53, 253-282.
- 121 ILLICH, I., and B. SANDERS, *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind* (San Francisco, 1988).
- 122 *Kanon und Zensur: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* 2, ed. A. ASSMANN and J. ASSMANN (Munich, 1987).
- 123 *Literacy and Orality*, ed. D.R. OLSON and N. TORRANCE (Cambridge, 1991).
- 124 *Literacy and Social Development in the West*, ed. H.J. GRAFF (Cambridge, 1981).
- 125 *Literacy and Society*, ed. K. SCHOUSBOE and M.T. LARSEN (Copenhagen, 1989).
- 126 *Literacy in Historical Perspective*, ed. D.P. RESNICK (Washington, 1983).
- 127 MCKENZIE, D.F., "Speech-manuscript-print", in: *New Directions in Textual Studies*, ed. D. OLIPHANT and R. BRADFORD (Austin, 1990), pp. 86-109.
- 128 MARTIN, H.-J., *Histoire et pouvoirs de l'écrit* (Paris, 1988).
- 129 ONG, W., *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982).
- 130 PATTISON, R., *On Literacy: The Politics of the Word from Homer to the Age of Rock* (Oxford, 1982).
- 131 *Perspectives on Literacy*, ed. E.R. KINTGEN a.o. (Carbondale, 1988).
- 132 *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit-Writing and Its Use: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch internationaler Forschung-An Interdisciplinary Handbook of International Research*, ed. H. GUNTHER and O. LUDWIG, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1994-1995).

- 133 *Les sciences de l'écrit: Encyclopédie internationale de bibliologie*, ed. R. ESTIVALS (Paris, 1993).
- 134 SÖDERBERG, B., "Medeltida literacy—ett nutida termproblem", in: *Språkbruk, grammatik och språkförändring: En festskrift till Ulf Teleman 13.1.1994* (Lund, 1994), pp. 359-364.
- 135 STREET, B.V., *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 1984: *Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture* 9).
- 136 VAN DER WOUDE, A., "Schrift en cultuur", *Spiegel Historiael* (1972), pp. 130-133.
- 137 *Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung: Aspekte des Medienwechsels in verschiedenen Kulturen und Epochen*, ed. C. EHLE and U. SCHAEFER (Tübingen, 1998: *ScriptOralia* 94).
- 138 *Weisheit: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* 3, ed. A. ASSMANN (Munich, 1991).
- 139 *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. G. BAUMANN (Oxford, 1986: *Wolfson College Lectures* 1985).

2.2 Antiquity

2.2.1 Biblical Antiquity

- 140 GANDZ, S., "Oral tradition in the Bible", in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut 1874-1933*, ed. S.W. BARON and A. MARX (New York, 1935), pp. 248-269.
- 141 GERHARDSSON, B., *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, tr. E.J. SHARPE (Uppsala etc., 1961: *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 22).
- 142 KELBER, W.H., *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia, 1983).
- 143 MÜLLER, P., "Verstehst du auch, was du liest?": *Lesen und Verstehen im Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt, 1994).
- 144 SCHEKLE, K.H., "'Bringe die Bücher mit': Zur Buchwerdung des Neuen Testaments", in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Hans Widmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. März 1973*, ed. A. SWIERK (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 246-251.
- 145 VERMES, G., "Scripture and tradition in Judaism: Written and oral Torah", in: No. 139, pp. 79-95.

2.2.2 Classical Antiquity

- 146 *Communication Arts in the Ancient World*, ed. E.A. HAVELOCK and J.P. HERSCH-
BELL (New York, 1978).
- 147 FAULSTICH, W., *Das Medium als Kult: Von den Anfängen bis zur Spätantike (8.*
Jahrhundert) (Göttingen, 1997: *Geschichte der Medien* 1).
- 148 GOODY, J., "Literacy and achievement in the ancient world", in: *Writing in Focus*,
ed. F. COULMAS and K. EHLICH (Berlin etc., 1983: *Trends in Linguistics: Studies*
and Monographs 24), pp. 83-97.
- 149 HARRIS, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
- 150 HARVEY, F.D., "Greeks and Romans learn to write", in: No. 146, pp. 63-78.
- 151 HAVELOCK, E.A., *Origins of Western Literacy: From Lectures Delivered at the*
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto March 25, 26, 27, 28, 1974
(Toronto, 1976: Monograph Series 14).
- 152 HAVELOCK, E.A., "The coming of literate communication to western culture", in:
No. 131, pp. 127-134.
- 153 *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A.K. BOWMAN and G. WOOLF
(Cambridge, 1994).
- 154 SMALL, J.P., *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Litera-*
cy in Classical Antiquity (London and New York, 1997).
- 155 WIPSYCYKA, E., "Contribution aux recherches sur l'étendue de la connaissance
de l'écriture dans l'antiquité", *Przegląd Historyczny* 74 (1983), pp. 1-26.

2.2.3 Greek Antiquity

- 156 HARDER, R., "Bemerkungen zur griechischen Schriftlichkeit", *Die Antike* 19
(1942), pp. 85-108; reprinted in: R. HARDER, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1960),
pp. 57-80.
- 157 HAVELOCK, E.A., *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).
- 158 HAVELOCK, E.A., *Prologue to Greek Literacy* (Cincinnati, 1971: *Lectures in Me-*
mory of Louise Taft Semple 2).
- 159 HAVELOCK, E.A., *The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Conse-*
quences (Princeton, 1982).
- 160 HAVELOCK, E.A., "The alphabetic mind: A gift of Greece to the modern world",
Oral Tradition 1 (1986), pp. 134-150.
- 161 MÜLLER, R.J., *Heiliges Wort und Heilige Schrift bei den Griechen: Hieroi Logoi*
und verwandte Erscheinungen (diss. Freiburg, 1995).
- 162 RÖSLER, W., "Die griechische Schriftkultur der Antike", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 511-
517.
- 163 THOMAS, R., *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cam-
bridge, 1989).

- 164 THOMAS, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992).
 165 *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen*, ed. W. KULLMANN and M. REICHEL (Tübingen, 1990: *ScriptOralia* 30).

2.2.4 Roman Antiquity

- 166 *Beiträge zur mündlichen Kultur der Römer*, ed. G. VOGT-SPIRA (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptOralia* 47).
 167 *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. M. BEARD a.o. (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1991: *Journal of Roman Archeology: Supplementary Series* 3).
 168 *Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom*, ed. G. VOGT-SPIRA (Tübingen, 1989: *ScriptOralia* 12).
 169 VOGT-SPIRA, G., "Die lateinische Schriftkultur der Antike", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 517-524.

2.2.5 Late Antiquity

- 170 CAMERON, A., *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1991: *Sather Classical Lectures* 55).
 171 FERREIRO, A., " 'Frequenter legere': The propagation of literacy, education, and Divine Wisdom in Caesarius of Arles", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992), pp. 5-15.
 172 GAMBLE, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London, 1995).
 173 HEATHER, P., "Literacy and power in the migration period", in: No. 153, pp. 177-197.

2.3 Byzantium

- 174 BEATON, R., "Orality and the reception of late Byzantine vernacular literature", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1990), pp. 174-184.
 175 BROWNING, R., "Literacy in the Byzantine world", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), pp. 39-54.
 176 BROWNING, R., *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* (Aldershot, 1989: *Collected Studies Series* 299).
 177 BROWNING, R., "L'alfabetizzazione nel mondo bizantino", in: No. 889, pp. 5-20.
 178 MULLETT, M., "Writing in early medieval Byzantium", in: No. 231, pp. 156-185.

- 179 OIKONOMIDES, N., "Mount Athos: Levels of literacy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988), pp. 167-178.
- 180 PATLAGEAN, E., "Discours écrit, discours parlé, niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIII^{ème}-XI^{ème} siècles", *Annales E.S.C.* 34 (1979), pp. 264-278, reprinted in: E. PATLAGEAN, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1980), Essay VI.
- 181 WIPSZYCKA, E., "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Egypte byzantine", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984), pp. 279-296.

2.4 The Middle Ages

- 182 ALTHOFF, G., "Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), pp. 370-389.
- 183 BAÜML, F.H., "Zum Verständnis mittelalterlicher Mitteilungen", in: *Hohenemser Studien zum Nibelungenlied*, ed. A. MASSER (Dornbirn, 1981), pp. 288-298.
- 184 BAUTIER, R.-H., "Comunicazione e vita di relazione nel Medioevo", in: *La comunicazione nella storia* 2.1 (Rome, s.d.).
- 185 BROWN, M.P., "The role of the wax tablet in medieval literacy: A reconsideration in light of a recent find from York", *The British Library Journal* 20 (1994), pp. 1-16.
- 186 BURKE, P., "La costituzione dell'uomo nuovo nel Rinascimento", in: *La comunicazione nella storia* 2.1 (Rome, s.d.).
- 187 CLANCHY, M.T., "Looking back from the invention of printing", in: No. 126, pp. 7-22.
- 188 CLANCHY, M.T., "The inadequacy of writing as a representation of thought: Examples from medieval culture", in: No. 64, pp. 117-132.
- 189 *Communicatie in de Middeleeuwen: Studies over de verschriftelijking van de middeleeuwse cultuur*, ed. M. MOSTERT (Hilversum, 1995: *Amsterdamse Historische Reeks: Grote serie* 23).
- 190 DEMYTTENAERE, A., "De auteur en zijn publiek in de Middeleeuwen", in: No. 189, pp. 39-66.
- 191 FICHTEAU, H., *Mensch und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1946).
- 192 GRUNDMANN, H., "Literatus-Illiteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40 (1958), pp. 1-65, reprinted in: H. GRUNDMANN., *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1976-1978: *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 25,1-3), 3: *Bildung und Sprache*, pp. 1-66.
- 193 GUMBRECHT, H.U., "Schriftlichkeit in mündlicher Kultur", in: No. 615, pp. 158-174.
- 194 GUNTHER, H., "Aspects of a history of written language processing in the Middle Ages" [with a "Presentation" by D. BARTON], in: No. 63, pp. 101-130.

- 195 KELLER, H., "Die Entwicklung der europäischen Schriftkultur im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen", in: *Geschichte und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Festschrift K.-E. Jeissmann*, ed. P. LEIDINGER and D. METZLER (Münster, 1990), pp. 174-204.
- 196 KELLER, H., "Vom 'heiligen Buch' zur 'Buchführung': Lebensfunktionen der Schrift im Mittelalter", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), pp. 1-31.
- 197 MEIER, H.H., "Writing and medieval culture", in: *Writing and Culture*, ed. B. ENGLER (Tübingen, 1992: *Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature* 6), pp. 33-52.
- 198 MENACHE, S., *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1990).
- 199 MOSTERT, M., "Bronnen en tradities", in: *De middeleeuwse ideeënwereld, 1000-1300*, ed. M. STOFFERS (Hilversum and Heerlen, 1994), pp. 37-64.
- 200 MOSTERT, M., "What happened to literacy in the Middle Ages? Scriptural evidence for the history of the western literate mentality", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 108 (1995), pp. 323-335.
- 201 MOSTERT, M., *Oraliteit* (Amsterdam, 1998).
- 202 ONG, W.J., "Orality, literacy, and medieval textualization", in: No. 670, pp. 1-12.
- 203 *Oraliteit en schriftcultuur*, ed. R.E.V. STUIP and C. VELLEKOOP (Hilversum, 1993: *Utrechtse Bijdragen tot de Mediëvistiek* 12).
- 204 POTKOWSKI, E., "Problemy kultury piśmiennej łacińskiego średniowiecza", *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 38 (1994), pp. 21-40.
- 205 RICHTER, M., *The Oral Tradition in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1994: *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental* 71).
- 206 RICHTER, M., *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture* (Dublin, 1995).
- 207 RÖRIG, F., "Mittelalter und Schriftlichkeit", *Welt als Geschichte* 13 (1953), pp. 29-41.
- 208 *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 26 Sept.-1 Oct. 1982*, ed. P. GANZ, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986: *Bibliologia* 3-4).
- 209 *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis: Erfassen, Bewahren, Verändern*, ed. H. KELLER a.o. (Munich, 1999: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 76) [in the press].
- 210 SPRANDEL, R., *Gesellschaft und Literatur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn etc., 1982).
- 211 STOCK, B., *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).
- 212 TISCHLER, M.M., "Das Mittelalter in Europa: Lateinische Schriftkultur", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 536-554.
- 213 *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. DOANE and C.B. PASTERNAK (Madison, Wisc., 1991).
- 214 WENZEL, H., "Zentralität und Regionalität: Zur Vernetzung mittelalterlicher Kommunikationszentren in Raum und Zeit", in: *Kontroversen, alte und neue: Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses Göttingen 1985*, 11 vols.

ed. K. GRUBMÜLLER and G. HESS, 7: *Bildungsexklusivität und volkssprachliche Literatur/Literatur vor Lessing—nur für Experten?* (Tübingen, 1986), pp. 14-26.

215 ZUMTHOR, P., "Observations sur l'écriture médiévale (Extrait d'un livre en préparation, sur les traditions orales du moyen âge européen)", *Cultura Neolatina* 45 (1985), pp. 149-170.

2.4.1 Early Middle Ages

- 216 BANNIARD, M., "Language and communication in Carolingian Europe", in: *New Cambridge Medieval History* 2, ed. R. McKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 695-708.
- 217 CAN, E., "Politica culturale e alfabetizzazione nell'alto Medioevo", *Quaderni medievali* (1979), pp. 231-246.
- 218 CATHEY, J.E., "Vom Analphabetentum zum Schreiber: Wulfila, die Goten und vergleichbare Entwicklungen", in: No. 137, pp. 88-98.
- 219 FRIED, J., "Karl der Grosse in Frankfurt am Main: Ein König bei der Arbeit", 794—Karl der Grosse in Frankfurt am Main: ein König bei der Arbeit: *Ausstellung zum 1200 Jahre der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, ed. J. FRIED (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 25-34.
- 220 GANZ, D., "Temptabat et scribere: Vom Schreiben in der Karolingerzeit", in: No. 1140, pp. 13-33.
- 221 GUMBRECHT, H.U., "Schriftlichkeit in mündlicher Kultur", in: No. 615, pp. 158-174.
- 222 IRVINE, M., *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 19).
- 223 MASTRELLI, C.A., "Romania-Germania: Mündliche und schriftliche Überlieferung", in: No. 668, pp. 83-92.
- 224 McKITTERICK, R., *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989).
- 225 MIKLAS, H., "Griechisches Schriftdenken und slavische Schriftlichkeit: Glagolica und Kyrillica zwischen Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung", in: No. 137, pp. 132-155.
- 226 RAIBLE, W., "Die Anfänge der volkssprachlichen Schriftkultur in der Romania—oder: Die Eroberung konzeptueller Räume", in: No. 137, pp. 156-173.
- 227 RICHÉ, P., "De plaats van het schrift in de Karolingische beschaving", in: No. 189, pp. 67-74.
- 228 RICHTER, M., *The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians* (Dublin, 1994).
- 229 RICHTER, M., "Die mündliche Kultur im frühen Mittelalter—ein Problemaufriß", *Lectiones eruditorum extraneorum in facultate philosophica Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis factae* 4 (1995), pp. 81-94.

- 230 *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. U. SCHAEFER (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptO-ralia* 53).
- 231 *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990).

2.4.2 Later Middle Ages

- 232 DERVILLE, A., "L'alphabétisation du peuple à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984), pp. 761-776.
- 233 GELLRICH, J., "Orality, literacy and crisis in the later Middle Ages", *Philological Quarterly* 67 (1988), pp. 461-473.
- 234 HAJDU, H., *Lesen und Schreiben im Spätmittelalter* (Pécs and Fünfkirchen, 1931: *Schriften aus dem Deutschen Institut der Universität Pécs* 1).
- 235 *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Internationaler Kongreß, Krems an der Donau, 9.-12. Oktober 1990*, ed. H. HUNDSBICHLER (Vienna, 1992: *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 596 = *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* 15).
- 236 MIGNOLO, W.D., *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1995)
- 237 SCHLIEBEN-LANGE, B., "Reden und schreiben im romanischen Mittelalter: Einige pragmatische und soziolinguistische Überlegungen", *Lendemains* 4 (1979), pp. 56-62.
- 238 STUDDT, B., "Neue Zeitungen und politische Propaganda: Die 'Speyerer Chronik' als Spiegel des Nachrichtenwesens im 15. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 115 (1995), pp. 145-219.

2.5 Italy

- 239 *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien*, ed. H. KELLER and T. BEHRMANN (Münster, 1995).
- 240 LANGELI, A., a.o., *Alfabetismo e cultura nella storia della società italiana* (Perugia, 1978).

2.5.1 Early Middle Ages

- 241 BANNIARD, M., " 'Iuxta uniuscuiusque qualitatem': L'écriture médiatrice chez Grégoire le Grand", in: *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. J. FONTAINE a.o. (Paris, 1986), pp. 477-488.
- 242 PETRUCCI, A., and C. ROMEO, "Scrittura e alfabetismo nella Salerno del IX secolo", *Scrittura e civiltà* 7 (1983), pp. 51-112.
- 243 PETRUCCI, A., and C. ROMEO, "*Scriptores in urbibus*": *Alfabetismo e cultura scritta nell'Italia altomedievale* (Bologna, 1992).
- 244 PETRUCCI, A., *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, tr. C.M. RADDING (New Haven, 1995).
- 245 RAIBLE, W., "Die Anfänge der italienischen Schriftkultur", *Romanische Forschungen* 105 (1993), pp. 231-255.

2.5.2 Later Middle Ages

- 246 AHERN, J.J., *The New Life of the Book: Oral and Written Communication in the Age of Dante* (diss., Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1976).
- 247 BEHRMANN, T., "Anmerkungen zum Schriftgebrauch in der kommunalen Diplomatie des 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts", in: No. 1222, pp. 265-281.
- 248 BURKE, P., "The uses of literacy in early modern Italy", in: *The Social History of Language*, ed. P. BURKE and R. PORTER (Cambridge, 1987: *Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture* 12), pp. 21-42.
- 249 CARDINI, F., "Alfabetismo e livelli di cultura nell'età comunale", *Quaderni storici* 38 (1978), pp. 488-522.
- 250 *Formen der Verschriftlichung und Strukturen der Überlieferung in Oberitalien: Studien über Gestalt, Funktionen und Tradierung kommunalen Schriftgutes*, ed. H. KELLER and M. BLATTMANN (Munich: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften*) [in preparation].
- 251 GIGLIO, C., and A. VIOLA, "Convegno sul tema Civiltà comunale: Libro, scrittura, documento (Genova, 8-11 novembre 1988)", *Schede medievali* 16 (1989), pp. 247-250.
- 252 HYDE, J.K., "Some uses of literacy in Venice and Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series 29 (1979), pp. 109-128.
- 253 HYDE, J.K., *Literacy and its Uses: Studies on Late Medieval Italy*, ed. D. WALEY (Manchester, 1993).
- 254 KELLER, H., "Die Veränderung gesellschaftlichen Handelns und die Verschriftlichung der Administration in den italienischen Stadtkommunen", in: No. 1138, pp. 21-36.

- 255 MANIKOWSKA, H., "Funkcje pisma w życiu publicznym późnośredniowiecznej Florencji: Uwagi na marginesie badań nad alfabetyzacją", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 35 (1990), pp. 23-36.
- 256 PETRUCCI, A., "Scrittura, alfabetismo ed educazione grafica nella Roma del primo Cinquecento: Da un libretto di conti di Maddalena Pizzicarola in Trastevere", *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), pp. 163-206.

2.6 Iberian peninsula

- 257 COLLINS, R., "Literacy and the laity in early medieval Spain", in: No. 231, pp. 109-133.
- 258 LAWRENCE, J.N.H., "The spread of lay literacy in late medieval Castile", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 62 (1985), pp. 79-94.
- 259 WRIGHT, R., "Logographic script and assumptions of literacy in tenth-century Spain", in: *The Changing Voices of Europe: Social and Political Changes and Their Linguistic Repercussions, Past, Present and Future*, ed. M. MAIR PARRY a.o. (Cardiff, 1994), pp. 125-139.

2.7 France

- 260 BANNIARD, M., "Latin et communication orale en Gaule: le témoignage de la *Vita Eligii*", in: *Le VII^e siècle: changements et continuités*, ed. J. FONTAINE and J.N. HILLGARTH (London, 1992), pp. 58-86.
- 261 CERQUIGLINI, B., "La paraphrase essentielle de la culture scribale", *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale* 14-15 (1989-1990), pp. 9-16.
- 262 CONTAMINE, P., "L'écrit et l'oral en France à la fin du Moyen-Age: Note sur l' 'alphabétisme' de l'encadrement militaire", in: *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. W. PARAVICINI and K.F. WERNER (Sigmaringen, 1980: *Beihefte der Francia* 9), pp. 102-113, 688-689.
- 263 PFEFFER, W., "A sign of the times: The question of literacy in medieval Occitania", in: *Literary Aspects of Courtly Culture*, ed. D. MADDOX and S. MADDOX-STURM (New York, 1994), pp. 283-289.

2.8 Germany

- 264 BAUML, F.H., "Scribe et impera: Geletterdheid in middeleeuws Duitsland", in: No. 189, pp. 75-87.
- 265 BAUML, F.H., "Scribe et impera: Literacy in medieval Germany", *Francia* 24 (1997), pp. 123-132.

- 266 EHLERS, J., "Schriftkultur, Ethnogenese und Nationsbildung in ottonischer Zeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), pp. 302-317.

2.8.1 Early Middle Ages

- 267 BÄUML, F.H., "Verschriftlichte Mündlichkeit und vermündlichte Schriftlichkeit: Begriffsprüfungen an den Fällen *Heliand* und *Liber Evangeliorum*", in: No. 230, pp. 254-266.
- 268 INNES, M., "Memory, orality and literacy in an early medieval society", *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 158 (1998), pp. 3-36
- 269 MCKITTERICK, R., "Literacy in Alemannia and the Role of St. Gall", in: *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: An Overview*, ed. J.C. KING and W. VOGLER (Stuttgart and Zürich, 1991), pp. 217-226.
- 270 SPLETT, J., "Der Abrogans und das Einsetzen althochdeutscher Schriftlichkeit im 8. Jahrhundert", in: *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern, Teil 1: Bericht des Symposiums für Frühmittelalterforschung, 27. bis 30. Oktober 1986, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich*, ed. H. WOLFRAM and W. POHL (Wenen, 1990: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 201 = Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 12), pp. 235-241.

2.8.2 Later Middle Ages

- 271 FRIEDLAND, K., "Italiens Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeit im frühhansischen Lübeck", in: *Nord und Süd in der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters: Akten des Kolloquiums veranstaltet zu Ehren von Karl Jordan, 1907-1984*, Kiel, 15.-16. Mai 1987, ed. W. PARAVICINI (Sigmaringen, 1990: Kieler Historische Studien 34), pp. 139-145.
- 272 GREEN, D.H., "The spread of literacy: An aspect of the twelfth-century renaissance in Germany", *Studi umanistici Piceni* 6 (1986), pp. 143-153.
- 273 GREEN, D.H., "Individual and society: The evidence of writing and orality in late medieval Germany", in: *Homo Sapiens, Homo Humanus II: Letteratura, arte e scienza nella seconda metà del Quattrocento: Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale del Centro di studi umanistici Montepulciano-Palazzo Tarugi-1987: Individuo e società nei secoli XV e XVI: Atti del XXX Convegno internazionale del Centro di studi umanistici Montepulciano-Palazzo Tarugi-1988*, ed. G. TARUGI (Florence, 1990), pp. 291-301.
- 274 GREEN, D.H., "The spread of humanism: A view from the German Middle Ages", *Studi umanistici Piceni* 12 (1992), pp. 89-96.

- 275 JONES, G.F., "Konnte Oswald von Wolkenstein lesen und schreiben?", in: *Gesammelte Vorträge der 600-Jahrfeier Oswalds von Wolkenstein, Seis am Schlern 1977*, ed. H.-D. MÜCK and U. MÜLLER (Göppingen, 1978), pp. 39-79.

2.9 Low Countries

- 276 BURGERS, J.W.J., *De paleografie van de documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland in de dertiende eeuw*, 3 vols. (Leuven, 1995: *Schrift en schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen: Paleografie, Codicologie, Diplomatiek* 1).
- 277 MOSTERT, M., "Het geschreven woord bij de Friezen in de zevende en achte eeuw", in: *Willibrord, zijn wereld en zijn werk*, ed. P. BANGE and A.G. WEILER (Nijmegen, 1990: *Middeleeuwse Studies* 6), pp. 256-268.
- 278 MOSTERT, M., "De vroegste geschiedenis van de schriftcultuur in Holland", in: *Datum et actum: Opstellen aangeboden aan Jaap Kruisheer ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag*, ed. D.P. BLOK a.o. (Amsterdam, 1998: *Publicaties van het Meertens Instituut* 29), pp. 315-330.

2.10 England

- 279 CHAYTOR, H.J., *From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1945).
- 280 CLANCHY, M.T., *Literacy and Law in Medieval England* (London, 1995).
- 281 *Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im englischen Mittelalter*, ed. W. ERZGRABER and S. VOLK (Tübingen, 1988: *ScriptOralia* 5).

2.10.1 Early Middle Ages

- 282 ADAMSON, J.W., *The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon* (Cambridge, 1946).
- 283 BROWN, G.H., "The dynamics of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77 (1995), pp. 109-142.
- 284 DEROLEZ, R., "Runic literacy among the Anglo-Saxons", in: *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, ed. A. BÄMMESBERGER and A. WOLLMANN (Heidelberg, 1990: *Anglistische Forschungen* 205), pp. 397-436.
- 285 KELLY, S., "Anglo-Saxon lay society and the written word", in: No. 231, pp. 36-62.
- 286 MILLER, L.J., "The transition from orality to literacy in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 53,2 (1992), p. 483A.

- 287 OPLAND, J., "From horseback to monastic cell: The impact on English literature of the introduction of writing", in: *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. J.D. NILES (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 30-43, 161-163.
- 288 ORCHARD, A.P. McD., "Crying Wolf: Oral style and the *Sermones Lupi*", *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), pp. 239-264.
- 289 TOON, T.E., "The socio-politics of literacy in early England: What we learned at our hlaforð's knee", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 6 (1985), pp. 87-106.
- 290 VANDERBILT, D.L., *Orality, Textuality and the Anglo-Saxon Historical Imagination: An Original Study* (Madison, 1990).
- 291 WORMALD, C.P., "The uses of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its neighbours", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series 29 (1977), pp. 95-115.

2.10.2 Later Middle Ages

- 292 ADAMSON, J.W., "The extent of literacy in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", *The Library*, 4th series 10 (1930), pp. 162-193.
- 293 CLANCHY, M.T., "The written word: From Domesday Book to Caxton", in: *The Making of Britain: The Middle Ages*, ed. L.M. SMITH (Basingstoke and London, 1985), pp. 163-177.
- 294 CLANCHY, M.T., *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1993; 1st edn. London and Cambridge, Mass., 1979).
- 295 CLARK, C., "The myth of 'the Anglo-Norman scribe'", in: *Words, Names and History: Selected writings of Cecily Clark*, ed. P. JACKSON (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 168-176.
- 296 CLARK, C., "People and languages in post-Conquest Canterbury", *ibid.*, pp. 179-206.
- 297 COLEMAN, J., *Medieval Readers and Writers 1350-1400* (New York, 1981).
- 298 GENET, J.P., "La naissance de l'écrit en Angleterre: A propos d'un ouvrage récent", *Le Moyen Âge* 88 (1982), pp. 323-328.
- 299 KLAUPER, R.W., "Two early lists of literates in England, 1334, 1373", *English Historical Review* 99 (1984), pp. 363-369.
- 300 RICHTER, M., *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1979: *Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 18).
- 301 ROBINSON, F.C., "Reading and writing in Chaucer's England", *Sewanee Review* 90 (1982), pp. 608-612.

- 302 VALE, M.G.A., *Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480* (York, 1976: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Paper No.50).

2.11 Ireland and the "Celtic Fringe"

- 303 *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. EDEL (Blackrock, 1995).
- 304 DAVIES, S., "Storytelling in Medieval Wales", *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 231-57.
- 305 *Deutsche, Kelten und Iren: 150 Jahre deutsche Keltologie: Geróid MacEoin zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. H.L.C. TRISTRAM (Hamburg, 1990).
- 306 HARVEY, A., "Early literacy in Ireland: The evidence from Ogam", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987), pp. 1-15.
- 307 KOCH, J.T., "Windows on the Iron Age: 1964-1994", in: *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Tale Cycle*, ed. J.P. MALLORY, and G. STOCKMAN (Belfast, 1994), pp. 229-37.
- 308 *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. H. PRYCE (Cambridge, 1998: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 33).
- 309 MACEOIN, G., "Literacy and cultural change in early Ireland", in: No. 137, pp. 99-131.
- 310 MOSTERT, M., "Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular? Some considerations on 'Irish' manuscript production and their implications for Insular Latin culture, c. AD 500-800", in: No. 303, pp. 92-115.
- 311 *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales*, ed. P.H. JONES and E. REES (Aberystwyth, 1998).
- 312 O Cúiv, B., "Irish words for 'alphabet'", *Ériu* 31 (1980), pp. 100-110.
- 313 SMYTH, M., "The earliest written evidence for an Irish view of the world", in: No. 303, pp. 23-44.
- 314 STEVENSON, J., *The Beginnings of Literacy in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Section C—Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 89, C, 6).
- 315 STEVENSON, J., "Literacy in Ireland: The evidence of the Patrick dossier in the Book of Armagh", in: No. 231, pp. 11-35.
- 316 STEVENSON, J., "Literacy and orality in early medieval Ireland", in: No. 303, pp. 11-22.

2.12 Scandinavia

- 317 *Föreläsningar i medeltidsfilologi*, ed. J. CARLQUIST (Stockholm, 1992: *Meddelanden från institutionen för nordiska språk* 38).
- 318 GUSTAVSON, H., "Söckenkyrkan som skriftdokument", in: *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige*, ed. O. FERM (Stockholm, 1991: *Studier till det medeltida Sverige* 5), pp. 545-562..
- 319 HANNESDÓTTIR, S.K., "Books and reading in Iceland in a historical perspective", *Libraries and Culture* 28 (1993), pp. 13-21.
- 320 JANSSON, S.-B., "Attityder till literacy: Några exempel ur svenskspråkiga texter från senmedeltiden", in: No. 321, pp. 103-119.
- 321 *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur: Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt perspektiv 2: Nio föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1992*, ed. I. LINDELL (Stockholm, 1994: *Runica et Mediaevalia: Opuscula* 2).
- 322 *Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt perspektiv*, ed. P. ÅSTRÖM (Stockholm, 1993: *Meddelanden från institutionen för nordiska språk* 39).
- 323 SCHONSBOE, K., "Literacy and society in medieval Denmark", in: No. 125, pp. 149-170.
- 324 SIMENSEN, E., "Sprakkontakt over landegrenser: Munnleg Kommunikasjon i mellomalderen", *Collegium Medievale* 7 (1994), pp. 33-50.
- 325 SPURKLAND, T., "Speech and writing in medieval Bergen", *Papers from the Tenth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Bergen, June 11-13, 1987* (Bergen, 1988), 2, pp. 261-270.
- 326 STEFFENSON, J., "Upphaf ritaldar á Islandi", *Arbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags* (1980), pp. 74-83.
- 327 STOKKER, K., "Oral tradition, humanism, and the baroque", in: *A History of Norwegian Literature*, ed. H.S. NAESS (Lincoln, Nebr., 1993: *A History of Scandinavian Literatures* 2), pp. 39-52, 377-379.
- 328 TOMMASSON, R.F., "The literacy of the Icelanders", *Scandinavian Studies* 47 (1975), pp. 66-93.
- 329 VANNEBO, K.I., "Hva vet vi om lese-og skriveferdigheten i Norge i middelalderen", *Maal og minne* 1-2 (1994), pp. 5-23.

2.13 Central and Eastern Europe

- 330 ADAMSKA, A., "The introduction of writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia)", in this volume, pp. 163-188.
- 331 DOWIAT, J., "Środki przekazywania myśli", in: *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X-XIII w.*, ed. J. DOWIAT (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 193-251.

- 332 FRANKLIN, S., "Literacy and documentation in early medieval Russia", *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 1-38.
- 333 FRANKLIN, S., "The writing in the ground: Recent Soviet publications on early Russian literacy", *Slavonic and East European Review* 65 (1987), pp. 411-421.
- 334 GEREMEK, B., "Poziomy kultury : przekaz ustny i tradycja literacka", in: *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV w.*, ed. B. GEREMEK (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 366-380.
- 335 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Die Formung der westslawischen Schrift-, Buch und Bibliothekskultur unter dem Einfluss der lateinischen Kirche", in: *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1983: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 30), pp. 701-743.
- 336 *Kultura piśnienna średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych: Problemy i konteksty badawcze*, ed. P. DYMMEŁ and B. TRELIŃSKA (Lublin, 1998: *Res Historica* 3).
- 337 KURBIS, B., "Slavisch, Lateinisch und Griechisch: An der Schwelle der lateinischen Schriftkultur in Polen", in: *Lateinische Kultur im x. Jahrhundert: Akten des 1. Internationalen Mittelalter-Kongress, Heidelberg 12-15.IX.1988*, ed. W. BERSCHIN (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 235-248.
- 338 MIRONOV, B.N., "The development of literacy in Russia and the U.S.S.R. from the tenth to the twentieth centuries", *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (1991), pp. 229-252.
- 339 POTKOWSKI, E., "Écriture et société en Pologne du bas Moyen-Age (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 39 (1979), pp. 47-100.
- 340 ŠMAHEL, F., "L'alphabétisation des couches populaires en Bohême aux XIV^e-XV^e s." [French summary], in: *Kultura elitarna kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. B. GEREMEK (Warsaw etc., 1978), pp. 189-204.
- 341 SMIRNOV, I.P., "On the systematic-diachronic approach to medieval Russian culture of the early period", in: No. 670, pp. 111-136.

2.14 Jews

- 342 BEDOS-REZAK, B., "The confrontation of orality and textuality: Jewish and Christian literacy in eleventh- and twelfth-century northern France", in: *Rashi 1040-1990: Hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbach: Congrès européen des Études juives*, ed. G. SED-RAJNA (Paris, 1993), pp. 541-558.
- 343 REIF, S.C., "Aspects of mediaeval Jewish literacy", in: No. 231, pp. 134-155.

2.15 After the Middle Ages

- 344 CHARTIER, R., "The practical impact of writing", in: *A History of Private Life*, ed. Ph. ARIÈS a.o., 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1987-1991), 3, pp. 111-160.

- 345 CHARTIER, R., *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1993).
- 346 CHARTIER, R., *Culture écrite et société: L'ordre des livres (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1996).
- 347 *Colportage et lecture populaire: Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XV^e-XIX^e siècles*, ed. R. CHARTIER and H.-J. LUSEBRINK (Paris, 1996).
- 348 CRESSY, D., "Literacy in context: Meaning and measurement in early modern England", in: *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. J. BREWER and R. PORTER (London, 1993), pp. 305-319.
- 349 DE KOOKER, H.W., and B. VAN SELM, *Boekcultuur in de Lage Landen 1500-1800: Bibliografie van publikaties over particulier boekenbezit in Noord- en Zuid-Nederland, verschenen voor 1991* (Utrecht, 1993).
- 350 GAWTHROP, R., and G. STRAUSS, "Protestantism and literacy in early modern Germany", *Past and Present* No.104 (1984), pp. 31-55.
- 351 GRAFF, H.G., "On literacy in the Renaissance: Review and reflections", *History of Education* 12 (1983), pp. 69-85.
- 352 HOUSTON, R.A., *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800* (London, 1988).
- 353 LANHAM, R.A., *The Electronic Word: Democracy, Technology and the Arts* (Chicago, 1993).
- 354 NEUBURG, V.E., *Popular Literature: A History and Guide from the Beginning of Printing to the Year 1897* (Harmondsworth, 1977).
- 355 RAVEN, J., "Selling books across Europe, c. 1450-1800: An overview", *Publishing History* No.34 (1993), pp. 5-19.
- 356 SPUITFORD, M., "Literacy, trade and religion in the commercial centres of Europe", in: *A Miracle mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, ed. C.A. DAVIDS and J. LUCASSEN (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 229-283.
- 357 STRAUSS, G., "Printing and reading in early modern Strasbourg", *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (1985), pp. 507-511.
- 358 THOMAS, K., "The meaning of literacy in early modern England", in: No. 139, pp. 97-131.
- 359 VAN DER WOUDE, A.M., "De alfabetisering", *Nieuwe Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 5 (Haarlem, 1980), pp. 257-264.
- 360 WOODBRIDGE, L., "Add context and stir: Or, the sadness of Grendel: Thoughts on early modern orality and literacy", *Yearbook of English Studies* 25 (1995), pp. 22-40.

3. Forms of Non-Verbal Communication

- 361 ARGYLE, M., *Bodily Communication* (London, 1975).

- 362 FREY, S., *Die nonverbale Kommunikation* (Stuttgart, 1984: SEL-Stiftungs-Reihe 1).
- 363 JEAN, G., *Langage de signes: L'écriture et son double* (Paris, 1989).
- 364 KEY, M.R., *Nonverbal Communication: A Research Guide and Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., 1977).

3.1 Smells

- 365 LOHMEYER, E., *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch* (Heidelberg, 1919: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 9).

3.2 Colours

- 366 ADAMSKA, A., "Michel Pastoureau en de geschiedenis van de kleur", *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 24 (1997), pp. 360-368.
- 367 MEIER, C., and R. SUNTRUP, "Zum Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter: Einführung zu Gegenstand und Methoden sowie Probeartikel aus dem Farbbereich 'Rot'", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987), pp. 390-478.

3.3 Gestures

- 368 BAKARAT, R., *Cistercian Sign Language* (Kalamazoo, 1975).
- 369 BARASCH, M., *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976).
- 370 BARASCH, M., *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1987).
- 371 BAUML, B.J., and F.H. BAUML, *Dictionary of Worldwide Gestures*, 2nd edn. (Lanham, Md., and London, 1997).
- 372 *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. J. BREMMER and H. ROODENBURG (Cambridge, 1993) [Dutch version: *Gebaren en lichaamshouding van de Oudheid tot heden* (Nijmegen, 1993)].
- 373 DAVRIL, A., "Le langage par signes chez les moines", in: *Sous le règne de Saint Benoît: Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne* (Geneva, 1982), pp. 51-74.
- 374 DELLING, H., *Studien über die Gebärdensprache in Dichtkunst und Bildkunst des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (diss. Leipzig, 1925).
- 375 *Gestures*, ed. J.-Cl. SCHMITT (London, 1984: *History and Anthropology Ser.* 1,1).

- 376 GIEYSZTOR, A., "Gesture in the coronation ceremonies of medieval Poland", in: No. 481, pp. 152-164.
- 377 HABICHT, W., *Die Gebärde in englischen Dichtungen des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1959: *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, NS 46).
- 378 HAYES, F., "Gestures: A working bibliography", *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 21 (1957), pp. 218-317.
- 379 LOMMATZSCH, E., *System der Gebärden: Dargestellt auf Grund der mittelalterlichen Literatur Frankreichs* (diss. Berlin, 1910).
- 380 MROZOWSKI, P., "Gest władcy w ikonografii polskiego średniowiecza", in: *Imagines potestatis*, ed. J. BANASZKIEWICZ (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 59-74.
- 381 MROZOWSKI, P., "Kłęczenie w kulturze Zachodu średniowiecznego: Gest ekspiacji i postawa modlitewna", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88 (1988), pp. 37-60.
- 382 NITSCHKE, A., "Verhalten und Bewegung der Tiere nach frühen christlichen Lehren", *Studium generale* 20 (1967), pp. 235-262.
- 383 NITSCHKE, A., "Ottonische und karolingische Herrscherdarstellungen: Gestik und politisches Handeln", in: *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Hans Wentzel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 157-172.
- 384 NITSCHKE, A., "Bewegungsverhalten und Körpersprache innerhalb der humanistischen Erziehung", in: *Historische Bestimmtheit pädagogischer Handlungsfelder: Ergebnisse einer Arbeitsgruppe: Tübinger Kongreß der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft: März 1978* (Tübingen, 1978), pp. 106-121.
- 385 NITSCHKE, A., "Die Freilassung: Beobachtungen zum Wandel von Rechtsgebärden", in: *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung* 99 (1982), pp. 220-251.
- 386 NITSCHKE, A., "Der Wandel kindlicher Bewegungsweisen im Mittelalter: Vorbilder und Räume", in: *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*, ed. J. MARTIN and A. NITSCHKE (Freiburg and Munich, 1986: *Historische Anthropologie* 2), pp. 469-486.
- 387 NITSCHKE, A., *Bewegungen in Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kämpfe, Spiele, Tänze, Zeremoniell und Umgangsformen* (Düsseldorf, 1987: *Historisches Seminar* 2).
- 388 NITSCHKE, A., "Wandel der Rechtsgesten", *Forschungen zur Rechtsarchäologie und Rechtlichen Volkskunde* 11 (1989), pp. 105-129.
- 389 NITSCHKE, A., *Körper in Bewegung: Gesten, Tänze, und Räume im Wandel der Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1989).
- 390 OTT, N.H., "Der Körper als konkrete Hülle des Abstrakten: Zum Wandel der Rechtsgebärde im Spätmittelalter", in: *Gepeinigt, begehrt, vergessen: Symbolik und Sozialbezug des Körpers im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. K. SCHREINER and N. SCHNITZLER (Munich, 1992), pp. 223-241.
- 391 PEIL, D., *Die Gebärde bei Chrétien, Hartmann und Wolfram: Erec-Iwein-Parzifal* (Munich, 1975: *Medium Aevum* 28).

- 392 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Gebärdensprache im mittelalterlichen Recht", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982), pp. 363-379.
- 393 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Mit Hand und Mund: Sprachgebärden aus dem mittelalterlichen Rechtsleben", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 283-299.
- 394 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Sprachgebärden aus dem mittelalterlichen Rechtsleben: Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung", in: *Das andere Wahrnehmen: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte: August Nitschke zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. M. KINTZINGER, W. STÜRNER, and J. ZAHLTEN (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1991), pp. 233-249.
- 395 SCHMITT, J.-CL., "The ethic of gesture", in: *Fragments for the History of the Human Body*, ed. M. FEHER a.o., 3 vols. (New York, 1989), pp. 128-147.
- 396 SCHMITT, J.-CL., "Le geste, la cathédrale et le roi", *L'Arc* 72 (1990), pp. 9-12.
- 397 SCHMITT, J.-CL., *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990).
- 398 SCHUBERT, M.J., *Zur Theorie des Gebarens im Mittelalter: Analyse von nicht-sprachlicher Äußerung in mittelhochdeutscher Epik: Rolandslied, Eneasroman, Tristan* (Cologne and Vienna, 1991: *Kölner Germanistische Studien* 31).
- 399 VON AMIRA, K., *Die Handgebärden in den Bilderhandschriften des Sachsen-spiegels* (Munich, 1905 = *Abhandlungen der philosophischen Klasse der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 23.11).
- 400 WENZEL, H., "Szene und Gebärde: Zur visuellen Imagination im Niebelungenlied", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 111 (1992), pp. 321-343.

3.4 Symbolic Objects

- 401 KIERSNOWSKI, R., *Moneta w kulturze wieków średnich* (Warsaw, 1988).
- 402 SEITTER, W., "Das Wappen als Zweitkörper und Körperzeichen", in: *Das Schwinden der Sinne*, ed. D. KAMPER and C. WULF (Frankfurt a.M., 1984), pp. 299-312.

3.5 Clothes

- 403 BRÜGGEN, E., "Kleidung im Mittelalter: Fiktion und Realität", *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, NS 14 (1991), pp. 7-23.
- 404 RAUDSZUS, G., *Die Zeichensprache der Kleidung: Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Gewandes in der deutschen Epik des Mittelalters* (Hildesheim etc., 1985: *Ordo* 1).
- 405 *Le Vêtement : histoire, archéologie et symbolique*, ed. M. PASTOUREAU (Paris, 1989), pp. 303-324.

3.6 Visual Arts

- 406 BRILLIANT, R., "The Bayeux Tapestry: A stripped narrative for their eyes and ears", in: *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. R. GAMESON (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 111-137.
- 407 BRUBAKER, L., "Introduction: The sacred image", in: *The Sacred Image East and West*, ed. R. OOSTERHOUT and L. BRUBAKER (Urbana and Chicago, 1995), pp. 1-24.
- 408 CAMILLE, M., "The language of images in medieval England, 1200-1400", in: *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, ed. J. ALEXANDER and P. BINSKI (London, 1987), pp. 33-40.
- 409 HAMBURGER, J., "The use of images in the pastoral care of nuns: the case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans", *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), pp. 20-46.
- 410 MCCLINTOCK, M.J.H., "The pictorial nonverbal communication system of the medieval Church: Its development and use as a method of providing religious instruction in the Christian faith during the fourth through the fifteenth centuries: With implications for visual literacy", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 41,7 (1981), pp. 2829-2830.
- 411 PIECH, Z., *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów* (Cracow, 1993).
- 412 VAN RUN, A., "'Quia facilius ad intellectum per oculos via est': Over 'uitleg' op school en in de kunst", in: No. 742, pp. 127-158.

3.7 Visual Images and Texts

- 413 *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. J. ELSNER (Cambridge, 1996).
- 414 CAMILLE, M., "The book of signs: Writing and visual difference in Gothic manuscript illuminations", *Word and Image* 1 (1985), pp. 133-148.
- 415 CAMILLE, M., "Seeing and reading: Some visual implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy", *Art History* 8 (1985), pp. 26-49.
- 416 CAMILLE, M., "Visual signs of the sacred page: Books in the Bible moralisée", *Word and Image* 5 (1989), pp. 111-130.
- 417 CAMILLE, M., *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992).
- 418 CANCIK, H., "Der Text als Bild: Über optische Zeichen zur Konstitution von Satzgruppen in antiken Texten", in: No. 457, pp. 81-100.
- 419 CHAZELLE, C.M., "Pictures, books, and the illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serenus of Marseilles", *Word and Image* 6 (1990), pp. 138-153.
- 420 CLANCHY, M.T., "Reading the signs at Durham cathedral", in: No. 125, pp. 171-182.
- 421 CURSCHMANN, M., "*Pictura laicorum litteratura?* Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Bild und volkssprachlicher Schriftlichkeit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter bis zum Codex Manesse", in: No. 1138, pp. 211-229.

- 422 DIEBOLD, W.J., "Verbal, visual, and cultural literacy in medieval art: Word and image in the Psalter of Charles the Bald", *Word and Image* 8 (1992), pp. 89-99.
- 423 DUGGAN, L.G., "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?", *Word and Image* 5 (1989), pp. 227-251.
- 424 EBERLE, P., "Miniatures as evidence of reading in a manuscript of the *Confessio Amantis* (Pierpont Morgan MS. M.126)", in: *John Gower—Recent Readings: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the John Gower Society at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 1983-1988* (Kalamazoo, 1989: *Studies in Medieval Culture* 26), pp. 311-364.
- 425 ERNST, U., "Die Entwicklung der optischen Poesie in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit", in: *Literatur und bildende Kunst: Ein Handbuch zur Theorie und Praxis eines komparatistischen Grenzgebietes*, ed. U. WEISSTEIN (Berlin, 1992), pp. 138-151.
- 426 HAUCK, K., "Text und Bild in einer oralen Kultur: Antworten auf die zeugniskritische Frage nach der Erreichbarkeit mündlicher Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 510-599.
- 427 HENKEL, N., "Bildtexte: Die Spruchbänder in der Berliner Handschrift von Veldeke Eneasroman", in: No. 441, pp. 1-25.
- 428 HUBBARD, R.S., "Authors of pictures, draughtsmen of words", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 49,6 (1988), p. 1416A.
- 429 HUOT, S., "Visualization and memory: The illustration of Troubadour lyric in a thirteenth-century manuscript", *Gesta* 30 (1992), pp. 3-14.
- 430 JANTZEN, H., "Das Wort als Bild in der frühmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei", in: H. JANTZEN, *Über den gotischen Kirchenraum und andere Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 53-60.
- 431 KOOPER, E.S., "Art and signature and the art of the signature", in: *Court and Poet*, ed. G.S. BURGESS a.o. (Liverpool, 1981), pp. 223-232.
- 432 LEWIS, S., *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1995).
- 433 LUTZ, E.C., "Verschwiegene Bilder—geordnete Texte: Mediävistische Überlegungen", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 70 (1996), pp. 3-45.
- 434 MCKITTERICK, R., "Text and image in the Carolingian world", in: No. 231, pp. 297-318.
- 435 MEIER, C., "Illustration und Textcorpus: Zu kommunikations- und ordnungsfunktionalen Aspekten der Bilder in den mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädiehandschriften", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), pp. 1-31 and Pls. I-XXVIII.
- 436 MITCHELL, J., "Literacy displayed: The use of inscriptions at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the early ninth century", in: No. 231, pp. 186-225.
- 437 MOIRAND, S., "Les textes sont aussi des images", *Le Français dans le Monde* 137 (mai-juin 1978), pp. 32-37.

- 438 MUIR WRIGHT, R., "Sound in pictured silence: The significance of writing in the
illustration of the Douce Apocalypse", *Word and Image* 7 (1991), pp. 239-274.
- 439 OTT, N.H., "Ikonographische Signale der Schriftlichkeit: Zu den Illustrationen
des Urkundenbeweises in den 'Belial'-Handschriften", in: *Festschrift Walter
Haug und Burghart Wachinger*, ed. J. JANOTA a.o., 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1992), 2,
pp. 995-1010.
- 440 OTT, N.H., "*Pictura docet*: Zu Gebrauchssituation, Deutungsangebot und Appell-
charakter ikonographischer Zeugnisse mittelalterlicher Literatur am Beispiel der
Chansons de geste", in: *Grundlagen des Verstehens mittelalterlicher Literatur:
Literarische Texte und ihr historischer Erkenntniswert*, ed. G. HAHN and H.
RAGOTZKY (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 187-212.
- 441 *Poesis et Pictura: Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften
und alten Drucken: Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. S.
FUSSEL and J. KNAPE (Baden-Baden, 1989).
- 442 POZZI, G., *La parola dipinta*, 2nd edn. (Milan, 1996).
- 443 SCHILLING, M., "Rota Fortunae: Beziehungen zwischen Text und Bild in mittel-
alterlichen Handschriften", in: *Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters: Ham-
burger Kolloquium 1973*, ed. W. HARMS and L.P. JOHNSON (Berlin, 1975), pp.
293-313.
- 444 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Die Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels als Zeu-
gen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), pp.
357-387.
- 445 SCHUPP, V., "PICT-ORALES oder: Können Bilder Geschichten erzählen?", *Poetica:
Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 25 (1993), pp. 34-69.
- 446 SISSONS, C., "Marks as signatures", *The Library* 9 (1928), pp. 1-37.
- 447 SOLTERER, H., "Letter writing and picture reading: Medieval textuality and the
Bestiaire d'Amour", *Word and Image* 5 (1989), pp. 131-147.
- 448 SPENCER, H., *The Visible Word* (London, 1969).
- 449 STAMMLER, W., *Wort und Bild: Studien zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen
Schrifttum und Bildkunst im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1962).
- 450 *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1994: *Settimane di studio
del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 41).
- 451 *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste im Mittelalter*, ed.
C. MEIER and U. RUBERG (Wiesbaden, 1980).
- 452 *Text-Bild-Interpretation: Untersuchungen zu den Bilderhandschriften des
Sachsenspiegels*, ed. R. SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, 2 vols. (Munich, 1986: *Münster-
sche Mittelalter-Schriften* 55): 1, *Textband*, ed. D. HÜPPER; 2, *Tafelband*, ed. D.
HÜPPER and U. LADE.
- 453 *Text und Bild: Bild und Text: DFG-Symposium 1988*, ed. W. HARMS (Stuttgart,
1990: *Germanistische Symposien: Berichtsbände* 9).
- 454 *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwi-
schen Literatur und bildender Kunst*, ed. H. FRÜHMORGEN-VOSS and N.H. OTT

(Munich, 1975: *Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* 50).

- 455 WENZEL, H., "Schrift und Bild: Zur Repräsentation der audiovisuellen Wahrnehmung im Mittelalter", in: *Kultureller Wandel und die Germanistik in der Bundesrepublik*, 4 vols., ed. J. JANOTA (Tübingen, 1993), 3: *Methodenkonkurrenz in der germanistischen Praxis*, pp. 101-121.
- 456 WITTEKIND, S., "Vom Schriftband zum Spruchband: Zum Funktionswandel von Spruchbändern in Illustrationen biblischer Stoffe", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996), pp. 343-367.
- 457 *Wort und Bild: Symposium des Fachbereichs Altertums- und Kulturwissenschaften zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen*, ed. H. BRUNNER a.o. (Munich, 1979).

3.8 Music

- 458 BERGER, C., "The hand and the art of memory", *Musica disciplina* 35 (1981), pp. 87-120.
- 459 BOUTERSE, C.C., "Literacy, orality, and the Cantigas: Toward an ethnomusicology of medieval Europe", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 57,5 (1996), p. 1898A.
- 460 LEVY, K., "On Gregorian orality", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), pp. 185-227.
- 461 TREITLER, L., "Oral, written and literate process in the transmission of medieval music", *Speculum* 56 (1981), pp. 471-491.
- 462 VAN SCHAİK, M., "Didactische vernieuwingen van het zangonderwijs in de elfde eeuw", in: No. 742, pp. 173-187.
- 463 VELLEKOOP, C., "Words and music: Two kinds of text", in: No. 71, pp. 47-57.
- 464 VELLEKOOP, C., "Geheugen, kennis en muzieknootatie", in: No. 203, pp. 119-134.
- 465 ZIJLSTRA, A.M.J., *Zangers en schrijvers: De overlevering van het Gregoriaans van ca. 750 tot ca. 1150*, 2 vols. (diss. Utrecht, 1997).

4. Ritual

- 466 ALTHOFF, G., "Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftsstiftende Character des Mahles im früheren Mittelalter", in: *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. I. BITSCH a.o. (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 13-25.
- 467 BUC, P., "Martyre et ritualité dans l'Antiquité tardive: Horizon de l'écriture médiévale des rituels", *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 52 (1997), pp. 63-92.

- 468 FUHRMANN, H., " 'Willkommen und Abschied': Über Begrüßungs- und Abschiedsrituale im Mittelalter", in: H. FUHRMANN, *Überall ist Mittelalter: Von der Gegenwart einer vergangenen Zeit* (Munich, 1996), pp. 17-39.
- 469 GOETZ, H.-W., "Kirchenfest und weltliches Alltagsleben im früheren Mittelalter", *Mediaevistik* 2 (1989), pp. 123-171.
- 470 HAUCK, K., "Rituelle Speisegemeinschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert", *Studium Generale* 3 (1950), pp. 611-621.
- 471 *Höfische Repräsentation: Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. H. RAGOTZKY and H. WENZEL (Tübingen, 1990).
- 472 JEANNERET, M., *Des mets et des mots: Banquet et propos de table à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1987).
- 473 ROOS, R., *Begrüßung, Abschied, Mahlzeit: Studien zur Darstellung höfischer Lebensweise in Werken der Zeit von 1150-1320* (diss. Bonn, 1975).
- 474 SCHREINER, K., " 'Er küsse mich mit dem Kuß seines Mundes' (*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, Cant. 1,1): Metaphorik, kommunikative und herrschaftliche Funktionen einer symbolischen Handlung", in: No. 471, pp. 89-132.
- 475 *Zwischen Festtag und Alltag: Zehn Beiträge zum Thema "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit"*, ed. W. RAIBLE (Tübingen, 1988: *ScriptOralia* 6).

4.1 Political Ritual and Ceremony

- 476 ALTHOFF, G., "Colloquium familiare—Colloquium secretum—Colloquium publicum: Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990), pp. 145-167.
- 477 ALTHOFF, G., "Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 27-50.
- 478 ALTHOFF, G., "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996), pp. 60-79.
- 479 ALTHOFF, G., *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997).
- 480 BERBIG, H.J., "Zur rechtlichen Relevanz von Ritus und Zeremoniell im römisch-deutschen Imperium", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 92 (1980), pp. 204-249.
- 481 *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J. BAK (Berkeley, 1985).
- 482 FAULSTICH, W., *Medien und Öffentlichkeiten im Mittelalter, 800-1400* (Göttingen, 1996: *Die Geschichte der Medien* 2).
- 483 FRIED, J., "Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I.: Erinnerung, Mündlichkeit und Traditionsbildung im 10. Jahrhundert", *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*,

- ed. M. BORGOLTE (Munich, 1995: *Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte*, NS 20), pp. 267-318.
- 484 GARNIER, C., "Zeichen und Schrift: Symbolische Handlungen und literale Fixierung am Beispiel von Friedensschlüssen des 13. Jahrhunderts", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 263-287.
- 485 GUENÉE, B., and F. LEHOUX, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris, 1968).
- 486 GIEYSZTOR, A., "Non habemus caesarem nisi regem: Korona zamknięta królów polskich w końcu XV wieku", in: *Muzeum i twórca* (Warsaw, 1969), pp. 277-292.
- 487 HAGEMAN, M., "Between the imperial and the sacred: The gesture of coronation in Carolingian and Ottonian images", in this volume, pp. 125-161.
- 488 KOZIOL, G., *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca and London, 1992).
- 489 LE GOFF, J., "Le rituel symbolique de la vasallité", in: J. LE GOFF, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris, 1977), pp. 349-420.
- 490 LEYSER, K., "Ritual, Zeremonie und Gestik: das ottonische Reich", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 1-26.
- 491 LEYSER, K., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London, 1994).
- 492 LEYSER, K., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994).
- 493 MACCORMACK, S., *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley etc., 1984).
- 494 NELSON, J., *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986).
- 495 NIEDERSTÄTTER, A., "Königseintritt und -gastung in der spätmittelalterlichen Reichsstadt", in: *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter: Paderborner Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. D. ALTENBURG a.o. (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 491-500.
- 496 ORTH, E., "Formen und Funktionen der höfischen Rittererhebung", in: *Curialitas: Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur*, ed. J. FLECKENSTEIN (Göttingen, 1990: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 100), pp. 128-170.
- 497 *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. WILENTZ (Philadelphia, 1985).
- 498 *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. CANADINE and S. PRICE (Cambridge, 1987).
- 499 SCHULTE, P., "'Vertrauen ist der Anfang von allem': Politische Kommunikation in oberitalienischen Stadtgemeinden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts", *Forschungsjournal Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster* 6 (1997), pp. 24-26.
- 500 THUM, B., "Öffentlich-Machen, Öffentlichkeit, Recht: Zu den Grundlagen und Verfahren der politischen Publizistik im Spätmittelalter", *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 37 (1980), pp. 12-69.

- 501 THUM, B., "Öffentlichkeit und Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Zur Herstellung von Öffentlichkeit im Bezugsfeld elementarer Kommunikationsformen im 13. Jahrhundert", in: No. 471, pp. 65-87.

5. Oral Communication

- 502 BURKE, P., *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge, 1993).
 503 *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. BALARD (Paris, 1994).
 504 NITSCHKE, A., "Vom Hören und Gehorchen: Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen der abendländischen Kultur", in: *Hals-Nasen-Ohren-Informationen* (1987), No.3, pp. 15-22.
 505 *Oralité médiévale*, ed. M. BACOU (Paris 1994; *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 36).
 506 TOMASEK, T., "Legende und höfische Gesprächskultur: Überlegungen zum 'Willehalm' Wolframs von Eschenbach", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 182-195.

5.1 Silence

- 507 FUCHS, P., "Die Weltflucht der Mönche: Anmerkungen zur Funktion des monastisch-ascetischen Schweigens", *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 15 (1986), pp. 393-405; reprinted in: *Reden und Schweigen*, ed. N. LUHMANN and P. FUCHS (Frankfurt a.M., 1989), pp. 21-45.
 508 ROLOFF, V., *Reden und Schweigen: Zur Tradition und Gestaltung eines mittelalterlichen Themas in der französischen Literatur* (Munich, 1973: *Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten* 34).
 509 RUBERG, U., *Beredtes Schweigen in lehrhafter und erzählender deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters: Mit kommentierter Erstedition spätmittelalterlicher Lehrtexte über das Schweigen* (Munich, 1978: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 32).

5.2 Language

- 510 BANNIARD, M., *Viva voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en Occident latin* (Paris, 1992: *Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Série Moyen-Âge et Temps Modernes* 25).
 511 BOSSELMANN-CYRAN, K., "Fremdsprachen und Fremdsprachenerwerb im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Forschungen zum Turmbau", in: No. 514, pp. 3-14.
 512 COULMAS, F., "Schriftlichkeit und Diglossie", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 739-745.

- 513 ERFURT, J., "Sprachwandel und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1387-1404.
- 514 *Fremdsprachen und Fremdsprachenerwerb* (Berlin, 1997: *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 2.1).
- 515 GREEN, D., *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998).
- 516 GREENE, W.C., "The spoken and the written word", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 60 (1951), pp. 23-59.
- 517 JACOBI, K., "Sprache und Wirklichkeit: Theoriebildung über Sprache im frühen 12. Jahrhundert", in: *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. S. EBBESEN (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 77-108.
- 518 KLEINSCHMIDT, H., "Wordhord onleac: Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der sprachsprachlichen Kommunikation im Mittelalter", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 108 (1988), pp. 37-62.
- 519 KOCH, P., and W. OESTERREICHER, "Schriftlichkeit und Sprache", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 587-604.
- 520 KUHN, H., "Zur Typologie mündlicher Sprechdenkmäler", in: H. KUHN, *Kleine Schriften 2: Text und Theorie* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 10-27.
- 521 *Language, Self and Society: A Social History of Language*, ed. P. BURKE and R. PORTER (Oxford, 1994).
- 522 *Languages and Jargons: Contributions to a Social History of Language*, ed. P. BURKE and R. PORTER (Oxford, 1995).
- 523 LARSSON, I., "De medeltida lagarna om skrift och språk", in: No. 322, pp. 93-151.
- 524 LARSSON, I., and B. SÖDERBERG, "Nordisk medeltidsliteracy i ett diglossiskt och digrafiskt perspektiv: ett forskningsprogram", in: No. 322, pp. 13-26.
- 525 RAIBLE, W., "Literacy and language change", in: *Writing vs. Speaking: Language, Text, Discourse, Communication*, ed. S. SMEJRKOVÁ a.o. (Tübingen, 1994: *Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik* 392), pp. 111-125.
- 526 RICHTER, M., "Monolingualism and multilingualism in the 14th century", *Historiographia Linguistica* 7 (1980), pp. 211-220.
- 527 RICHTER, M., "Die Sprachenpolitik Karls des Grossen", *Sprachwissenschaft* 7 (1982), pp. 412-437.
- 528 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Sprache und Geschichte im Spiegel historischer Bezeichnungen", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 19 (1985), pp. 31-47.
- 529 SCHNEIDER, R., "Formen und Motive mittelalterlicher Sprachenpolitik", *Lectiones eruditorum extraneorum in facultate philosophica Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis factae* 8 (1998), pp. 7-23.
- 530 STOCK, B., "Language and cultural history", *New Literary History* 18 (1986-1987), pp. 657-670.
- 531 *La voix et l'écriture* (Paris, 1993: *Médiévales: Langue, Textes, Histoire* No.25).
- 532 VOLLRATH, H., "Das Mittelalter in der Typik oraler Gesellschaften", *Historische Zeitschrift* 233 (1981), pp. 571-594.

- 533 WOLFF, Ph., *Les origines linguistiques de l'Europe occidentale*, 2nd edn. (Toulouse, 1982: Association des publications de l'Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, Série A 48).
- 534 ZUMTHOR, P., "The text and the voice", in: No. 670, pp. 67-92.
- 535 ZUMTHOR, P., "Le Moyen Âge et la voix: Les indices d'oralité", in: *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia a cinquant'anni dalla sua laurea*, ed. R. ANTONELLI a.o., 4 vols. (Modena, 1989), 4, pp. 1515-1526.

5.2.1 Language as a Means of Distinction

- 536 BURKE, P., "Languages and anti-languages in early modern Italy", *History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist Historians* 11 (1981), pp. 24-32.
- 537 GALBRAITH, V.H., "Nationality and language in medieval England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series 23 (1941), pp. 113-128.
- 538 LULOFS, F., "Het gebruik van *du* in de Reynaert", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 83 (1967), pp. 241-273.

5.2.2 Thinking about Language

- 539 BORST, A., *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols. in 6 (Stuttgart, 1957-1963).
- 540 CASAGRANDE, C., and S. VECCHIO, *Les péchés de la langue: Discipline et éthique de la parole dans la culture médiévale*, tr. P. BAILLET (Paris, 1991).
- 541 SEPPÄNEN, L., "Über den mittelalterlichen Sprachbegriff", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 94 (1993), pp. 21-25.
- 542 VAN DER LECQ, R., "Het woord als teken in de filosofie van de Middeleeuwen", in: No. 203, pp. 89-102.

5.3 The Problem of Latin

- 543 *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. WRIGHT (London, 1991).
- 544 RICHTER, M., "A socio-linguistic approach to the Latin Middle Ages", *Studies in Church History* 11 (1975), pp. 69-82.
- 545 RICHTER, M., "Kommunikationsprobleme im lateinischen Mittelalter", *Historische Zeitschrift* 222 (1976), pp. 43-80.
- 546 RICHTER, M., "Latein als Schlüssel zur Welt des früheren Mittelalters", *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 28 (1994), pp. 15-26.

5.3.1 *Latin as Mother Tongue*

- 547 BANNIARD, M., "La voix et l'écriture: émergences médiévales", in: No. 531, pp. 5-16.
- 548 BANNIARD, M., "Les deux vies de saint Riquier: du latin médiatique au latin hiératique", in: No. 531, pp. 45-52.
- 549 BANNIARD, M., "Seuils et frontières langagières dans la Francia romane du VIII^e siècle", in: *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. J. JARNUT (Sigmaringen, 1994: *Beihefte der Francia* 37), pp. 171-190.
- 550 BANNIARD, M., "Diasystèmes et diachronie langagières du latin parlé tardif au protofrançais (III^e-VIII^e siècles)", in: *La transizione dal latino alle lingue romanze: Atti della Tavola Rotonda di Linguistica Storica Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia*, ed. J. HERMAN and L. MONDIN (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 131-153.
- 551 FONTAINE, J., "Sulpice Sévère témoin de la communication orale en latin à la fin du IV^e siècle gallo-romain", in: No. 531, pp. 17-32.
- 552 GAENG, P.A., "The extent to which inscriptional evidence may serve as a source of 'vulgar' i.e. spoken latin", *Linguistica* 32 (1992), pp. 19-29.
- 553 HERMAN, J., "La situation linguistique en Italie au VI^e siècle", *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 52 (1988), pp. 285-302.
- 554 HERMAN, J., "Spoken and written Latin in the last centuries of the Roman Empire: a contribution to the linguistic history of the western provinces", in: No. 543, pp. 29-43.
- 555 LOT F., "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?", *Bulletin Du Cange* 6 (1931), pp. 97-159.
- 556 MCKITTERICK, R., "Latin and Romance: An historian's perspective", in: No. 543, pp. 130-145.
- 557 RICHTER, M., "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule? A propos d'une question mal posée", *Annales E.S.C.* 38 (1983), pp. 439-448.
- 558 RICHTER, M., "Latein—ein Schlüssel zur Welt des früheren Mittelalters?", *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch* 28 (1993), pp. 15-26.
- 559 VAN UYTFANGHE, M., "Latin mérovingien, latin carolingien et 'rustica romana lingua': Continuité ou discontinuité?", *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 1 (1977), pp. 65-88.
- 560 VAN UYTFANGHE, M., "Histoire du latin, protohistoire des langues romanes et histoire de la communication", *Francia* 11 (1984), pp. 579-613.
- 561 WRIGHT, R., "Speaking, reading and writing late Latin and early Romance", *Neophilologus* 69 (1976), pp. 178-189.
- 562 WRIGHT, R., *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982).

5.3.2 Latin as "Father Tongue"

- 563 BIELER, L., "Das Mittellatein als Sprachproblem", *Lexis* 2 (1949), pp. 98-104.
- 564 BONAVENTURE, Brother, "The teaching of Latin in later medieval England", *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961), pp. 1-20.
- 565 MEISTER, R., "Mittellatein als Traditionssprache", in: *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. BISCHOFF and S. BRECHTER (St. Ottilien, 1950), pp. 1-9.
- 566 MURPHY, J.J., "The teaching of Latin as a second language in the 12th century", *Historiographia Linguistica* 7 (1980), pp. 159-175.
- 567 ÖBERG, J., "Vem kunde latin i medeltidens Sverige?", in: No. 321, pp. 213-223.
- 568 PLEZIA, M., "Le latin dans les pays slaves", in: *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1981), pp. 131-137.
- 569 VON DEN STEINEN, W., "Das mittelalterliche Latein als historisches Phänomen", *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 7 (1957), pp. 1-27.
- 570 ZIOLKOWSKI, J., "Cultural diglossia and the nature of medieval Latin literature", in: No. 1278, pp. 193-213.

5.4 The Problem of the Vernaculars

- 571 HOLTUS, G., "Zum Verhältnis von Oralität und Schriftlichkeit im Franko-Italienisch", in: *Testi, costesi e contesti del franco-italiano: Atti del 1° simposio franco-italiano (Bad Homburg, 13-16 aprile 1987): In memoriam Alberto Linen-tani*, ed. G. HOLTUS, H. KRAUS and P. WUNDERLI (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 117-131.
- 572 LLOYD, P.M., *Del latín al español* (Madrid, 1993).
- 573 RICHTER, M., "Les langages en pays celtiques", in: No. 531, pp. 53-60.
- 574 RIEHL, C.M., "Der narrative Diskurs und die Verschriftlichung der Volkssprache: Beispiele aus dem Französischen, Italienischen und Deutschen", in: No. 23, pp. 37-63.
- 575 SKÁLA, E., "Jazyková situace v Čechách v rozmezí let 993-1322", in: *Milénium brevnovského klátera*, ed. I. HLAVÁČEK and M. BLÁHOVÁ (Prague, 1993), pp. 163-172.

5.4.1 Early Middle Ages

- 576 BLÁHOVÁ, E., "Staroslovenské písennictví v Čechách 10. století", in: *Sázava: Památník staroslovenské kultury* (Prague, 1988), pp. 55-69.

- 577 BROWN, G.H., "Latin writing and the Old English vernacular", in: No. 230, pp. 36-57.
- 578 FROMM, H., "Volkssprache und Schriftkultur", in: No. 208, pp. 99-108.
- 579 HARVEY, A., "Latin, literacy and the Celtic vernaculars around the year AD 500", in: *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples*, ed. C.J. BYRNE a.o. (Halifax, N.S., 1992), pp. 11-26.
- 580 KITTAY, J., "On octo", *Romanic Review* 78 (1987), pp. 291-298.
- 581 *Le passage à l'écrit des langues romanes*, ed. M. SELIG, B. FRANK and J. HARTMANN (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptOralia* 46).
- 582 POPOWSKA-TABORSKA, H., "The Slavs in the early middle Ages from the viewpoint of contemporary linguistics", in: *Origins of Central Europe*, ed. P. URBAŃCZYK (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 91-96.
- 583 SCHOLZ, M.G., "Die Entstehung volkssprachlicher Schriftkultur in Westeuropa", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 555-572.
- 584 SELIG, M., *Volkssprachliche Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Die Genese der altokzitanischen Schriftsprache* ("Habilitationsschrift" Freiburg, 1995).
- 585 WRIGHT, R., "Sociolinguistique hispanique (VIII^e-XI^e siècle)", in: No. 531, pp. 61-70.

5.4.2 Later Middle Ages

- 586 BLÁHOVÁ, M., "Starocesná Kronika tak Ľeceného Dalimila v kontextu stredoveké historiografie latinského kultúrného okruhu a její pramenná hodnota", in: *Starocesná Kronika tak Ľeceného Dalimila*, 3 (Prague, 1995).
- 587 BURGERS, J.W.J., "De invoering van het Nederlands in de dertiende-eeuwse documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 112 (1996), pp. 129-150.
- 588 DE MEYER, G.M., "Latijn en volkstaal, schrijftaal en spreektaal in niet-literaire teksten", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 89 (1974), pp. 1-15.
- 589 DURDILLY, P., "Quelques témoins de la langue écrite à Lyon au XV^e siècle", *Vox Romanica* 40 (1981), pp. 104-111.
- 590 GURIEWICZ, A., "Język źródła historycznego i rzeczywistość społeczna: Średniowieczny bilingwizm", *Studia Źródłoznawcze: Commentationes* 18 (1973), pp. 1-15.
- 591 GUYONVARC'H, C.-J., "Du breton moyen au breton moderne: Langue et littérature", in: *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1, ed. L. FLEURIOT and A.-P. SÉGALEN (Paris and Geneva, 1987), pp. 191-230.
- 592 HOFFMANN, W., "Zum Verhältnis von Schreibschichtung und Sprachwandel im spätmittelalterlichen Köln", in: *Literatur und Sprache im historischen Prozeß*, 2 vols., ed. T. CRAMER (Tübingen, 1983), 2, pp. 101-113.

- 593 KOCH, P., "Von Frater Semeno zum Bojaren Neacșu: Listen als Domäne früh verschrifteter Volkssprache in der Romania", in: *Erscheinungsformen kultureller Prozesse: Jahrbuch 1988 des Sonderforschungsbereich Übergänge und Spannungsfelder zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. W. RAIBLE (Tübingen, 1990: *ScriptOralia* 13), pp. 121-165.
- 594 MICHAŁOWSKA, T., "Twórczość w języku narodowym", in: T. MICHAŁOWSKA, *Średniowiecze: Wielka historia literatury polskiej* (Warsaw, 1995), pp. 329-657.
- 595 MIGLIO, L., "L'altra metà della scrittura: Scrivere il volgare (all'origine delle corsive mercantili)", *Scrittura e civiltà* 10 (1986), pp. 83-114.
- 596 NADAL, J.M., "Del efecte de' poeti: Oralitat i escriptura en la història de la llengua catalana", in: *Miscellània Joan Gili*, ed. A. MANENT and J. MASSOT i MUNTANER (Barcelona, 1988), pp. 215-247.
- 597 SKÁLA, E., "Der deutsch-tschechische Bilinguismus", *Sprachgeschichte* 41 (1977), pp. 260-279.
- 598 SVEJKOVSKY, F., "The conception of the 'vernacular' in Czech literature and culture in the fifteenth century", in: *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. R. PICCHO and H. GOLDBLATT (New Haven, 1984), pp. 324-335.
- 599 VRIES, O., "Frysk en nederlainsk as skriuwtalen fan de kleasters yn Westerlauwersk Fryslân", *Us Wurk* 38 (1989), pp. 25-42.

6. Oral and Written Memory

- 600 ASSMANN, J., "Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität", in: No. 611, pp. 9-19.
- 601 ASSMANN, J., *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).
- 602 BURKE, P., "History as social memory", in: No. 612, pp. 97-113.
- 603 CANDAU, J., *Anthropologie de la mémoire* (Paris, 1996: *Que sais-je?* 3160).
- 604 CONNERTON, P., *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989: *Themes in the Social Sciences*).
- 605 EDEL, D., "Text and memory", in: No. 71, pp. 21-26.
- 606 FENTRESS, J., and C. WICKHAM, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992).
- 607 FINLEY, M.I., "Myth, memory and history", *History and Theory* 4 (1964), pp. 281-302.
- 608 FORSTER, L., "Thoughts on the mnemonic function of early systems of writing", in: *Idee-Gestalt-Geschichte: Festschrift Klaus von See: Studien zur europäischen Kulturtradition*, ed. G.W. WEBER (Odense, 1988), pp. 59-62.
- 609 *Gedächtniskunst: Raum-Schrift-Bild: Studien zur Mnemotechnik*, ed. A. HAVERKAMP and R. LACHMANN (Frankfurt a.M., 1991).

- 610 HALBWACHS, M., *Mémoires collectives* (Paris, 1950); English tr.: *The Collective Memory*, tr. F.L. DITTER jr. and V.Y. DITTER, "with an introduction by Mary DOUGLAS" (New York, 1980).
- 611 *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, ed. J. ASSMANN and T. HÖLSCHER (Frankfurt a.M., 1988).
- 612 *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. T. BUTLER (Oxford, 1989: *Wolfson College Lectures* 1988).
- 613 *Mnemosyne: Formen und Funktionen der kulturellen Erinnerung*, ed. A. ASSMANN and D. HARTH (Frankfurt a.M., 1991).
- 614 NORA, P., "Mémoire collective", in: *La Nouvelle Histoire*, ed. J. LE GOFF a.o. (Paris, 1978), pp. 398-401.
- 615 *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archeologie der literarischen Kommunikation 1*, ed. A. ASSMANN, J. ASSMANN and C. HARDMEIER (Munich, 1983).

6.1 Classical Antiquity

- 616 SHRIMPTON, G.S., *History and Memory in Ancient Greece* (Montreal, 1997).

6.2 Middle Ages

- 617 ALTHOFF, G., "Zur Verschriftlichung von Memoria in Krisenzeiten", in: *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. D. GEUENICH and O.G. OEXLE (Göttingen and Zürich, 1994: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 111), pp. 56-73.
- 618 CARRUTHERS, M.J., *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 10).
- 619 CARRUTHERS, M.J., "The poet as master builder: Composition and locational memory in the Middle Ages", *New Literary History* 24 (1992-1993), pp. 881-904.
- 620 COLEMAN, J., "Das Bleichen des Gedächtnisses: St. Bernhards monastische Mnemotechnik", in: No. 609, pp. 207-227.
- 621 COLEMAN, J., *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992).
- 622 GEARY, P.J., *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994).
- 623 *Gespräche-Boten-Briefe: Körpergedächtnis und Schriftgedächtnis im Mittelalter*, ed. H. WENZEL a.o. (Berlin etc., 1997: *Philologische Studien und Quellen* 143).

- 624 GUENÉE, B., "Histoire, Mémoire, Écriture: Contribution à une étude des lieux communs", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1983), pp. 441-456.
- 625 HAJDU, H., *Das Mnemotechnische Schrifttum des Mittelalters* (Vienna etc., 1936).
- 626 *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, ed. B. ROY and P. ZUMTHOR (Montreal and Paris, 1985).
- 627 *Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. N. NETZER and V. REINBURG (Chestnut Hill, Mass., 1995).
- 628 STOCK, B., *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore and London, 1990: *Parallax Re-Visions of Culture and Society*).
- 629 WENZEL, H., "Imaginatio und Memoria: Medien der Erinnerung im höfischen Mittelalter", in: No. 613, pp. 57-82.
- 630 WENZEL, H., "An fünf Fingern abzulesen: Schriftlichkeit und Mnemotechnik in den Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg", in: *Von Aufbruch und Utopie: Perspektiven einer neuen Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters: Für und mit Ferdinand Seibt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstags*, ed. B. LUNDT and H. REIMÖLLER (Cologne, 1992), pp. 236-247.
- 631 WENZEL, H., *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1995).
- 632 YATES, F.A., *The Art of Memory* (London and Chicago, 1966).
- 633 ZAERR, L.M., and M.E. RYDER, "Psycholinguistic theory and modern performance: Memory as a key to variants in medieval texts", *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 26 (1993), pp. 21-36.

6.3 "Lieux de Mémoire"

- 634 BORGOLTE, M., "Papstgräber als 'Gedächtnisorte' der Kirche", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 112 (1992), pp. 305-323.
- 635 NORA, P., "Between memory and history: *Les lieux de mémoire*", *Representations* 26 (1989), pp. 7-25.
- 636 ROYMANS, N., "The cultural biography of urnfields and the long-term history of a mythical landscape", *Archaeological Dialogues* 2 (1995), pp. 2-24 [followed by "discussion", pp. 25-38].
- 637 SEIDENSPINNER, W., "Archäologie, Volküberlieferung, Denkmalideologie: Anmerkungen zum Denkmalverständnis der Öffentlichkeit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart", *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 18 (1993), pp. 1-15.

6.4 *The Past in Primarily Oral Societies*

- 638 CLANCHY, M.T. "Remembering the past and the good old law", *History* 55 (1970), pp. 166-172.
- 639 DE LA RONCIÈRE, Ch., "De la mémoire vécue à la tradition: Perception et enregistrement du passé", in: *Temps, mémoire, tradition au moyen âge: Actes du XIII^e congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Publique* (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), pp. 269-279.
- 640 DUBY, G., "Mémoires sans historien", *Mémoires: Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse* 15 (1977), pp. 213-220.
- 641 EBELS-HOVING, B., "Middeleeuwse geheugenprestaties: De memorie in Montailou", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 106 (1993), pp. 323-348.
- 642 FRIED, J., "Die Kunst der Aktualisierung in der oralen Gesellschaft: Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I. als Exempel", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 44 (1993), pp. 493-503.
- 643 FUCHS, P., "Zur Funktion der Geschichte in schriftlosen Gesellschaften", *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 99 (1969), pp. 182-188.
- 644 HENIGE, D.P., *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera* (Oxford, 1974).
- 645 KIRCHNER, H., "Über das Verhältnis des schriftlosen frühgeschichtlichen Menschen zu seiner Geschichte", *Sociologus*, NF 4 (1954), pp. 9-22.
- 646 SCHOTT, R., "Das Geschichtsbewusstsein schriftloser Völker", *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12 (1968), pp. 166-205.
- 647 VANSINA, J., *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Harmondsworth, 1973; originally published in French, in 1961; first English edn. 1965).
- 648 VANSINA, J., "Memory and oral tradition", in: *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History*, ed. J.C. MILLER (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 262-279.
- 649 VANSINA, J., *Oral Tradition as History* (London, 1985).
- 650 *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*, ed. J. VON UNGERN-STERNBERG and H. REINAU (Stuttgart, 1988: *Colloquium Rauricum* 1).

6.5 *Oral Tradition*

- 651 ASSMANN, A., "Schriftliche Folklore: Zur Entstehung und Funktion eines Überlieferungstypus", in: No. 615, pp. 141-157.
- 652 ASSMANN, A., and J. ASSMANN, "Schrift, Tradition und Kultur", in: No. 475, pp. 25-50.
- 653 BAR ITZHAK, H., "Nonverbal communication and genre definition of the Jewish folk narrative", in: No. 1368, pp. 15-31.
- 654 CALVET, L.-J., *La tradition orale* (Paris, 1984: *Que sais-je?* 2122).

- 655 EHLICH, K., "Text und sprachliches Handeln: Die Entstehung von Texten aus dem
Bedürfnis nach Überlieferung", in: No. 615, pp. 24-43.
- 656 FINNEGAN, R.H., "A note on oral tradition and historical evidence", *History and
Theory* 9 (1970), pp. 195-201.
- 657 FINNEGAN, R.H., "Tradition: But what tradition and for whom? (the Milman Parry
Lecture on Oral Tradition for 1989-90)", *Oral Tradition* 6 (1991), pp. 104-124.
- 658 FINNEGAN, R.H., *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research
Practices* (London, 1992: *ASA Research Methods in Social Anthropology*).
- 659 FOLEY, J.M., "The implications of oral tradition", in: No. 669, pp. 31-57.
- 660 HAMESSE, J., "Le vocabulaire de la transmission orale des textes", in: *Vocabu-
laire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, ed. O. WEIJERS (Turnhout, 1989: *CR-
VICIMA: Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge* 2), pp. 168-194.
- 661 HENIGE, D., "In possession of the author: The problem of source monopoly in oral
historiography", *International Journal of Oral History* 1 (1980), pp. 181-194.
- 662 HENIGE, D., *Oral Historiography* (London, 1982).
- 663 IRVING jr., E.B., "What to do with old kings", in: No. 686, pp. 259-268.
- 664 IRWIN, B.D., "What's in a frame? The medieval textualization of traditional sto-
rytelling", *Oral Tradition* 10 (1995), pp. 27-53.
- 665 MOMIGLIANO, A., "Historiography on written and oral tradition", in: A.
MOMIGLIANO, *Studies in Historiography* (London, 1966), pp. 211-220.
- 666 MORRISSEY, C.T., "Riding a mule through the 'terminological jungle': Oral histo-
ry and problems of nomenclature", *Oral History Review* 12 (1984), pp. 13-28.
- 667 *Oral Tradition*, 1- (1986-).
- 668 *Oral Tradition, Literary Tradition: A Symposium (Proceedings of the First In-
ternational Symposium organized by the Centre for the Study of Vernacular Li-
terature in the Middle Ages, Held at Odense University on 22-23 November
1976)*, ed. H. BEKKER-NIELSEN a.o. (Odense, 1977).
- 669 *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages*, ed. W.F.H. NICOLAISEN (Binghamton, NY,
1995: *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*).
- 670 *Oral and Written Traditions in the Middle Ages* [thematic issue of *New Literary
History* 16 (1984)].
- 671 PETROV, K.V., "Memory and oral tradition", in: No. 612, pp. 77-96.
- 672 REDEP, J., "The legend of Kosovo", *Oral Tradition* 6 (1991), pp. 253-265.
- 673 *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and Its Influence in the Greek and Roman
World*, ed. E.A. MACKAY (Leiden and Boston, 1999).
- 674 *Telling Tales: Medieval Narratives and the Folk Tradition*, ed. F. CANADÉ SAUT-
MAN a.o. (New York, 1998).

6.5.1 Early Middle Ages

- 675 GSCHWANTLER, O., "Formen langobardischer mündlicher Überlieferung", *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik* 11 (1979), pp. 58-85.
- 676 KÜNZEL, R., "Mondelinge overlevering in verhalende bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen: Enige historische en antropologische benaderingen", in: No. 189, pp. 21-38.
- 677 MCKITTERICK, R., "Mondelinge overlevering en geletterdheid in de vroege middeleeuwen: definitieproblemen", *Millennium* 6 (1992), pp. 17-39.
- 678 MOISL, H., "Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies and Germanic oral tradition", *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), pp. 215-248.
- 679 MOISL, H., "Kingship and orally transmitted Stammetradition among the Lombards and Franks", in: *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, ed. H. WOLFRAM and A. SCHWARZ, I (Wenen, 1985), pp. 111-119.
- 680 ROE, H., "Acallamh na Senorach: The confluence of lay and clerical oral traditions", in: *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples*, ed. C.J. BYRNE a.o. (Halifax, N.S., 1992), pp. 331-346.

6.5.2 Later Middle Ages

- 681 MARCHAL, G.P., "Memoria, Fama, Mos Maiorum: Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung im Mittelalter, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zeugen-aussagen in Arezzo von 1170/80", in: No. 650, pp. 289-320.

6.5.3 Oral Tradition in Literary Texts

- 682 BOZÓKY, E., "De la parole au monument: Marquer la mémoire dans la littérature arthurienne", in: No. 626, pp. 73-82.
- 683 BRADBURY, N.M., "The traditional origins of *Havelok the Dane*", *Studies in Philology* 90 (1993), pp. 115-42.
- 684 BUCHHOLZ, P., *Vorzeitkunde: Mündliches Erzählen und Überliefern im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien nach dem Zeugnis von Fornaldarsaga und eddischer Dichtung* (Neumünster, 1980).
- 685 BUTZER, G., "Das Gedächtnis des epischen Textes: Mündliches und schriftliches Erzählen im höfischen Roman des Mittelalters", *Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 89 (1995), pp. 151-188.
- 686 *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. J.M. FOLEY and A.B. LORD (Columbus, Ohio, 1987).
- 687 COWELL, A., "The fall of the oral economy: Writing economics on the dead body", *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1996), pp. 145-167.

- 688 DA CRUZ, J.P., "Auto dos Pastorinhos: Teatro de tradição oral na Aldeia do Lamegal, Concelho de Pinhel, na Beira Alta", *Hispania: A Journal Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese* 77 (1994), pp. 1-10.
- 689 FOLEY, J.M., "Texts that speak to readers who hear: Old English poetry and the languages of oral tradition", in: *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies*, ed. A.J. FRANTZEN (Albany, 1991: *SUNY Studies in Medieval Studies*), pp. 141-156.
- 690 HAUCK, K., "Heldendichtung und Heldensage als Geschichtsbewusstsein", in: *Alt-europa und die moderne Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Otto Brunner* (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 118-169.
- 691 HAYMES, E.R., "Reflections of German oral tradition in Thidrek's saga", in: *Crossings-Kreuzungen* ed. E.R. HAYMES (Columbia, 1990: *Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture* 43), pp. 63-70.
- 692 HENDERSON, D., "Tradition and heroism in the Middle English Romances", in: No. 1456, pp. 89-107.
- 693 MCGILLIVRAY, M., *Memorization in the Transmission of the Middle English Romances* (New York, 1990: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1275 = *The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition* 5).
- 694 NAGY, J.F., "Oral tradition in the Acallam na Senorach", in: No. 669, pp. 77-95.
- 695 OLSEN, A.H., "The aesthetics of Andreas: The contexts of oral tradition and Patristic Latin poetry", in: No. 1260, pp. 388-410.
- 696 OLSEN, A.H., "Oral tradition in the Middle English Romance: The case of Robert Of Cisyle", in: No. 1456, pp. 71-87.
- 697 PARKS, W., "Oral tradition and the Canterbury Tales", in: No. 1456, pp. 149-179.
- 698 RÖHRICH, L., "Antike Motive in spätmittelalterlichen Erzählungen und Volksballaden", in: *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter: Veröffentlichung der Kongressakten zum Freiburger Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. W. ERZGRÄBER (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 327-344.
- 699 SCHEPS, W., "Historicity and oral narrative in Njals saga", *Scandinavian Studies* 46 (1973), pp. 120-133.
- 700 SIMMS, K., "An Eaglais agus Fili na Scol", in: *An Dan Direach*, ed. P. O FIAN-NACHTA (Maynooth, 1994), pp. 21-36.
- 701 TOP, S., "Sir Halewijn in the Flemish oral tradition and printed tradition", *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 48 (1992), pp. 105-118.
- 702 VARVARO, A., "Karel ende Elegast et la tradition folklorique", *Le Moyen Âge* 101 (1995), pp. 259-75.
- 703 WOLF, A., "Medieval heroic traditions and their transitions from orality to literacy", in: No. 213, pp. 67-88.

6.5.4 Oral Tradition in Historiography

- 704 ALTHOFF, G., "Pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung und Krisen: I: Zur Funktion von Brunos Buch vom Sachsenkrieg", in: No. 1138, pp. 95-107.
- 705 BLÁHOVÁ, M., "Klasifikace predhusitských narrativních pramenů české provenience", in: *200 let pomocných věd historických na Filozofické Fakultě Univerzity Karlovy v Praze* (Prague, 1988), pp. 165-200.
- 706 BREDEHOFT, T.A., "Reading, literacy, and the writing of history in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' ", *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 55,10 (1995), p.3184A.
- 707 BUSCH, J.W., "Spiegelungen des Verschriftlichungsprozesses in der lombardischen Historiographie des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts", in: No. 239, pp. 305-321.
- 708 CAREY, J., "Native elements in Irish pseudohistory", in: No. 303, pp. 45-60.
- 709 COUÉ, S., "Pragmatische Geschichtsschreibung und Krisen: II: Der Mord an Karl dem Guten (1127) und die Werke Galberts von Brügge und Walters von Théroutanne", in: No. 1138, pp. 108-129.
- 710 DEPTUŁA, C., *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski: Studium z dziejów historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* (Lublin, 1990).
- 711 FREISE, E., "Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria", in: *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. D. GEUENICH and O.G. OEXLE (Göttingen and Zürich, 1994: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 111), pp. 441-577.
- 712 GEREMEK, B., "Wyobrażenia czasowa polskiego dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego", *Studia Źródloznawcze: Commentationes* 22 (1977), pp. 1-19.
- 713 GOETZ, H.-W., "Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsbewußtsein", *Historische Zeitschrift* 255 (1992), pp. 61-97.
- 714 GOETZ, H.-W., "Verschriftlichung von Geschichtskenntnissen: Die Historiographie der Karolingerzeit", in: No. 230, pp. 229-253.
- 715 MACARTNEY, C.A., "The development of Hungarian historical tradition", in: C.A. MACARTNEY, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 1-58.
- 716 MALYUSZ, E., "La chancellerie royale et la rédaction des chroniques dans la Hongrie médiévale", *Le Moyen Âge* 75 (1969), pp. 51-86.
- 717 MORRIS, C., "The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history", *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), pp. 55-71.
- 718 MURRAY, A.V., "Voices of Flanders: orality and constructed orality in the chronicle of Galbert of Bruges", *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 48 (1994), pp. 103-119.
- 719 POOSER, C.L., "Shades of the storyteller in medieval historiography: A text-contrastive and diachronic application of the Labovian oral narrative frame and of indices of orality to medieval historical prose", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 58,3 (1997), p. 848A.

- 720 RUYFFELAERE, P., "Les *historiae foundationum monasteriorum* et leurs sources orales au XII^e siècle", *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 29 (1986), pp. 223-247.
- 721 VISCARDI, A., "La tradizione storiografica dei secoli VIII-X relativa alla campagna iberica del 778 dà testimonianza dell' 'histoire chantée'?", in: *Studi di filologia romanza, offerti a Silvio Pellegrini* (Padova, 1971), pp. 667-676.
- 722 VOLLRATH, H., "Oral modes of perception in eleventh-century chronicles", in: No. 213, pp. 102-116.

7. Teaching, Mainly of Reading and Writing

- 723 BERTELSON, P., a.o., "Interpreting data from illiterates: Reply to Koopmans", *Cognition* 27 (1987), pp. 113-115 [see No. 727].
- 724 DODDS, W.J., "Highlights from the history of reading instruction", *The Reading Teacher* 21 (1967).
- 725 HASLER, H., *Lehren und Lernen der geschriebenen Sprache* (Darmstadt, 1991: *Erträge der Forschung* 272).
- 726 KATZ, M.B., "The origins of public education: A reassessment", *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976), pp. 381-408.
- 727 KOOPMANS, M., "Formal schooling and task familiarity: A reply to Morais et al.", *Cognition* 27 (1987), pp. 109-111.

7.1 Antiquity

- 728 CRIBIORE, R., *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996: *American Studies in Papyrology* 36).
- 729 MORGAN, T., *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998).
- 730 REGGIANI, A.M., *Educazione e scuola* (Rome, 1990: *Vita e costumi dei romani antichi* 10).

7.2 Middle Ages

- 731 ADAMSON, J.W., "Education", in: *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. C.G. CRUMP and E.F. JACOBS (Oxford, 1926), pp. 255-285.
- 732 ALEXANDRE-BIDON, D., "La lettre volée: Apprendre à lire à l'enfant au Moyen Âge", *Annales E.S.C.* 44 (1989), pp. 953-992.

- 733 DEANSLEY, M., "Medieval schools to c.1300", in: *The Cambridge Medieval History* 5, ed. J.R. TANNER (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 765-779.
- 734 KNIRK, J.E., "Learning to write with runes in medieval Norway", in: No. 321, pp. 169-212.
- 735 KOVTUN, L.S., and V.V. KOLESOV, "Novy trud o drevnikh teoriakh iskusstva slova na Rusi", *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury* 37 (1983), pp. 391-400.
- 736 LERNER, R.E., "Literacy and learning", in: *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. DEMOLEN (Boston, 1974), pp. 165-233.
- 737 ORME, N., *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973).
- 738 PIRENNE, H., "L'instruction des marchands au moyen-âge", *Annales E.S.C.* 1 (1929), pp. 13-28.
- 739 RICHÉ, P., "Le rôle de la mémoire dans l'enseignement médiéval", in: No. 626, pp. 133-148.
- 740 RICHÉ, P., and D. ALEXANDRE-BIDON, *L'enfance au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1994).
- 741 SANFILIPPO, M., "Sistema feudale e sistema didattico", *Quaderni medievali* 12 (1981), pp. 163-172.
- 742 *Scholing in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. R.E.V. STUIP and C. VELLEKOOP (Hilversum, 1995: *Utrechtse Bijdragen tot de Mediëvistiek* 13).
- 743 THORNDIKE, L., "Elementary and secondary education in the Middle Ages", *Speculum* 15 (1940), pp. 400-408.

7.2.1 Early Middle Ages

- 744 DAVIES, W.J.F., *Teaching Reading in Early England* (New York, 1974).
- 745 MOISL, H., "The Church and the narrative tradition of learning in early medieval Ireland", in: *Ireland and Christianity: The Bible and the Missions*, ed. P. NÍ CHATHÁIN and M. RICHTER (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 258-271.
- 746 MOSTERT, M., "Kennisoverdracht in het klooster: Over de plaats van lezen en schrijven in de vroegmiddeleeuwse monastieke opvoeding", in: No. 742, pp. 87-125.
- 747 NITSCHKE, A., "Die schulgebundene Erziehung der Adligen im Reich der Ottonen", in: *Was die Wirklichkeit lehrt: Golo Mann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. VON HENTIG and A. NITSCHKE (Frankfurt a.M., 1979), pp. 13-27.
- 748 PETRUCCI, A., "Alfabetismo ed educazione grafica degli scribi altomedievali (secc. VII-X)", in: No. 208, 1, pp. 109-132.
- 749 PIRENNE, H., "De l'état de l'instruction des laïques à l'époque mérovingienne", *Revue Bénédictine* 46 (1934), pp. 165-177.
- 750 RICHÉ, P., "Recherches sur l'instruction des laïques du IX^e au XII^e siècle", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 5 (1962), pp. 175-182.
- 751 RICHÉ, P., *De l'éducation antique à l'éducation chevaleresque* (Paris, 1968).

- 752 RICHÉ, P., "Apprendre à lire et à écrire dans le haut Moyen Âge", *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1978-1979), pp. 193-203.
- 753 RICHÉ, P., *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge: Fin du v^e siècle-milieu du xi^e siècle*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1989).
- 754 RICHÉ, P., *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare vi^e-viii^e siècles* (Paris, 1962).
- 755 *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1972: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studie sull'Alto Medioevo* 19).
- 756 WALLACH, L., "Education and culture in the tenth century", *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 9 (1955), pp. 18-22.

7.2.2 Later Middle Ages

- 757 BALDUHN, M., "Avian im Gebrauch: Zur Verwendung von Schulhandschriften im Unterricht", in: No. 949, pp. 183-196.
- 758 BODEMANN, U., "Lateinunterricht im Spätmittelalter: Beobachtungen an Handschriften", in: No. 514, pp. 29-46.
- 759 BODEMANN, U., and K. GRUBMÜLLER, "Schriftliche Anleitung zu mündlicher Kommunikation: die Schülergesprächsbüchlein des späten Mittelalters", in: No. 1138, pp. 177-193.
- 760 BOEKHOLT, P.Th.F.M., and E.P. DE BOOY, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen, 1987).
- 761 CRANE, S., "The writing lesson of 1381", in: *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context*, ed. B.A. HANNAWALT (Minneapolis, 1992: *Medieval Studies at Minnesota* 4), pp. 201-221.
- 762 CRESSY, D., "Educational opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England", *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976), pp. 301-320.
- 763 DAVIS, C.T., "Education in Dante's Florence", *Speculum* 40 (1965), pp. 415-435.
- 764 DE RIDDER-SYMOENS, H., "Education and literacy in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands", *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 16 (1995), pp. 6-21.
- 765 GASPARRI, F., "Note sur l'enseignement de l'écriture aux xv^e-xvi^e siècles: A propos d'un nouveau placard du xvi^e siècle découvert à la Bibliothèque Nationale", *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), pp. 245-261.
- 766 GASPARRI, F., "L'enseignement de l'écriture à la fin du moyen âge: A propos du tractatus in omnem modum scribendi, MS. 76 de l'abbaye de Kremsmünster", *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979), pp. 243-265.
- 767 GOLDTHWAITE, R., "Schools and teachers of commercial arithmetic in Renaissance Florence", *Journal of European Economic History* 1 (1972), pp. 418-433.

- 768 GONZALEZ CASANOVAS, R.J., "Alfonso X's rhetoric of humanist education: Professional literacy in the scientific prologues", *Romance Languages Annual* 2 (1990), pp. 434-441.
- 769 GRENDLER, P.F., "Come Zuanne imparò a leggere: Scolari e testi in volgare nelle scuole veneziane del 1500", in: *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura* (Florence, 1982), pp. 87-99.
- 770 GRUBMULLER, K., "Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit und Unterricht: Zur Erforschung ihrer Interferenzen in der Literatur des Mittelalters", *Der Deutschunterricht: Beiträge zu seiner Praxis und wissenschaftlicher Grundlegung* 41 (1989), pp. 41-54.
- 771 HEPPLER, R.B., *Medieval Education in England* (London, 1932: *The Historical Association Leaflet* 90).
- 772 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Die vorhussitische Prager Universität und die Texthandschriften ihrer Studenten", in: *Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 133-140.
- 773 HOEPPNER MORAN, J.A., "Literacy and education in Northern England, 1350-1550: A methodological inquiry", *Northern History* 17 (1981), pp. 1-23.
- 774 HOFER, P., "The Melk *Modus scribendi*", in: *Essays in Honor of James Edward Walsh* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 25-28.
- 775 KIEPE, H., "Die älteste deutsche Fibel: Leseunterricht und deutsche Grammatik um 1486", in: *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. B. MOELLER (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 453-461.
- 776 KLAPISCH-ZUBER, C., "Le chiavi fiorentine di Barbablù: L'apprendimento della lettura a Firenze nel XV secolo", *Quaderni storici* 57 (1984), pp. 765-792.
- 777 LAWSON, J., *Medieval Education and the Reformation* (London, 1967).
- 778 *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. L. GRENZMANN and K. STACKMANN (Stuttgart, 1984: *Germanistische Symposien: Berichtsbände* 5).
- 779 LUCCHI, P., "Leggere, scrivere e abaco: L'istruzione elementare agli inizi dell'età moderna", in: *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura* (Florence, 1982), pp. 101-119.
- 780 MCMAHON, C.P., *Education in Fifteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, 1947: *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education* 35).
- 781 MEWS, C.J., "Orality, literacy, and authority in the twelfth-century schools", *Exemplaria* 2 (1990), pp. 475-500.
- 782 MIETHKE, J., *Die mittelalterliche Universität und das gesprochene Wort* (Munich, 1990: *Schriften des historischen Kollegs: Vorträge* 23 = *Historische Zeitschrift* 251 (1990), pp. 1-44).
- 783 MINER, J.N., "Schools and literacy in later medieval England", *British Journal of Educational Studies* 11 (1962-1963), pp. 16-27.
- 784 ORME, N., *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548* (Exeter, 1976).

- 785 PATT, W.D., "The early *Ars dictaminis* as response to a changing society", *Viator* 9 (1979), pp. 133-155.
- 786 POTKOWSKI, E., "In scola scriptum: Szkoła jako miejsce działalności pisarskiej w średniowiecznej Polsce", in: *Nauczanie w dawnych wiekach*, ed. W. IWAŃCZAK and K. BRACHA (Kielce, 1997), pp. 159-174.
- 787 POTTER, G.R., "Education in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", in: *The Cambridge Medieval History* 8 (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 688-717.
- 788 SASSE TATEO, B., "Forma dell'organizzazione scolastica nell'Italia dei Comuni", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 150 (1992), pp. 19-56.
- 789 WENDEHORST, A., "Wer konnte im Mittelalter lesen und schreiben?", in: *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. J. FRIED (Sigmaringen, 1986; *Vorträge und Forschungen* 30), pp. 9-33.
- 790 WIERUSZOWSKI, H., "Arezzo as a center of learning and letters in the thirteenth century", *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 321-391.
- 791 WIŚNIEWSKI, E., "The parochial school network in Poland towards the close of the Middle Ages", *Acta Poloniae Historica* (1973).

Production and Use of Written Texts

- 792 ANTOS, G., "Die Produktion schriftlicher Texte", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1527-1535.
- 793 GÜNTHER, H., and B. POMPINO-MARSCHALL, "Produktion und Perzeption mündlicher und schriftlicher Äußerungen", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 903-917.

8.1 Script and Script Forms

- 794 BRIXHE, C., "La saga de l'alphabet et la collaboration des cultures", in: *Mélanges François Kerlouégan* (Besançon, 1994), pp. 79-94.
- 795 GAUR, A., "Political implications of writing systems" [with a "Presentation" by N. ELLIS], in: No. 63, pp. 223-252.
- 796 GAUR, A., *The History of Calligraphy* (London, 1994).
- 797 JEAN, G., *L'écriture mémoire des hommes* (Paris, 1987).
- 798 LUDWIG, O., "Geschichte des Schreibens", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 48-65.
- 799 MARICHAL, R., "L'écriture et la civilisation occidentale du I^{er} au XVI^e siècle", in: *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples* (Paris, 1960), pp. 226-239.
- 800 MEISENBERG, T., "Die großen Buchstaben und was sie bewirken können: Zur Geschichte der Majuskel im Französischen und im Deutschen", in: *Erscheinungsformen kultureller Prozesse: Jahrbuch 1988 des Sonderforschungsbereichs "Übergänge und Spannungsfelder zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit"* (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 281-315.

- 801 PETRUCCI, A., *La scrittura: Ideologia e rappresentanza* (Turin, 1986: *Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi* 473).
- 802 PETRUCCI, A., "Pouvoir de l'écriture, pouvoir sur l'écriture dans la Renaissance italienne", *Annales E.S.C.* 43 (1988), pp. 823-847.
- 803 PETRUCCI, A., *Public Lettering: Script, Power and Culture*, tr. L. LAPPIN (Chicago, 1993).
- 804 *Probleme der Graphie*, ed. O. WERNER (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptOralia* 57).
- 805 RAIBLE, W., *Zur Entwicklung von Alphabetschrift-Systemen: "Is fecit cui prod-est"* (Heidelberg, 1991: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* (1991), Bericht 1).
- 806 RAIBLE, W., "Die Entwicklung ideographischer Elemente bei der Verschriftlichung des Wissens", in: *Vermittlung und Tradierung von Wissen in der griechischen Kultur*, ed. W. KULLMANN and J. ALTHOFF (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptOralia* 61), pp. 15-37.
- 807 SIRAT, C., "Orality and literacy, languages and alphabets: Example of the Jewish people" [preceded by a "Presentation" by L. TOLCHINSKY-LANDSMANN], in: No. 64, pp. 45-92.
- 808 STIENNON, J., *L'écriture* (Turnhout, 1995: *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental* 72).
- 809 THOMÉ, G., "Alphabetschrift und Schriftsystem: Über die Prinzipien der Orthographie aus schrifthistorischer Sicht", *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 20 (1992), pp. 210-226.
- 810 *The World's Writing Systems*, ed. P.T. DANIELS and W. BRIGHT (Oxford, 1995).

8.1.1 Runes

- 811 [Bibliography in:] *Nytt om runer: Meldingsblad om runeforskning*, 1- (1985-).
- 812 DEROLEZ, R., "Runic literacy among the Anglo-Saxons", in: *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, ed. A. BAMMESBERGER and A. WOLLMANN (Heidelberg, 1990: *Anglistische Forschungen* 205), pp. 397-426.
- 813 GUSTAVSON, H., "Runorna och det latinska språket", in: No. 817, pp. 127-141.
- 814 GUSTAVSON, H., "Runsk latinitet", in: No. 321, pp. 61-77.
- 815 GUSTAVSON, H., "Coincidentia oppositorum-latin med runor: Några grafematiska och fonematiska iakttagelser", in: *Symbolae Septentrionales, Latin studies presented to Jan Öberg*, ed. M. ASZTALOS and C. GEJROT (Stockholm, 1995: *Runica et Mediaevalia: Scripta minora* 2), pp. 203-215.
- 816 HOLT, J.P., *Runer og Romerskrift* (Copenhagen, 1996).
- 817 *Runmärkt: Från brev till klotter: Runorna under medeltiden*, ed. S. BENNETH (Stockholm, 1994).
- 818 *Runor och ABC: Elva föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1995*, ed. S. NYSTROM (Stockholm, 1996: *Runica et Mediaevalia: Opuscula* 4).

- 819 SÖDERBERG, B., "Skriftinteraktion och runkompetens: forskningsperspektiv och förslag", in: No. 322, pp. 27-92.
- 820 SÖDERBERG, B., "Cultural progression: Latin and Runic writing", in: *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age: The Twelfth Viking Congress*, ed. B. AMBROSIANI and H. CLARKE (Stockholm, 1994: *Birka Studies* 3), pp. 247-252.
- 821 SÖDERBERG, B., "Varför skriver vi inte med runor idag? Skrift och språk i medeltidens Sverige", in: No. 817, pp. 41-52.
- 822 WESTLUND, B., "Runorna och den latinska skriften", in: No. 817, pp. 119-126.
- 823 WICKER, N.L., "Bracteate workshops and runic literacy: Testimony from the distribution of inscriptions", in: *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, ed. J.E. KNIRK (Uppsala, 1994: *Runron: Runologiska bidrag utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet* 9), pp. 59-81.

8.2 Book Production and Use

- 824 AHLZWEIG, C., "Geschichte des Buches", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 85-102.
- 825 *Česká kniha v proměnách staletí*, ed. M. BOHATCOVÁ (Prague, 1989).
- 826 GUMBERT, J.P., *The Dutch and their Books in the Manuscript Age* (London, 1990: *The Panizzi Lectures*, 1989).
- 827 *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. R. CHARTIER and H.-J. MARTIN, 4 vols. (Paris, 1982-1986), 1: *Le livre conquérant, du Moyen Âge au milieu du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1983).
- 828 *Histoires du livre: Nouvelles orientations*, ed. H.E. BODEKER (Paris, 1995).
- 829 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Rukopisy, jejich funkce a čtenáři v českém státě od nejstarsích dob do husitství", *Studie o rukopisech* 12 (1973), pp. 33-51.
- 830 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Kirchen, Klöster und Bibliotheken bis zum 17. Jahrhundert", in: *Bohemia Sacra: Das Christentum in Böhmen 973-1973* (Düsseldorf, 1974), pp. 396-405.
- 831 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Übersicht über die mittelalterliche handschriftliche Buchkultur in Westböhmen, namentlich in Pilsen", *Minulosti Západočeského kraje* 17 (1981), pp. 153-167.
- 832 LEMKE, S.K., "'Go litel book': Book production, dissemination and literacy in England from the Anglo-Saxon period through the introduction of printing", *Old English Newsletter* 16 (1983), pp. 43-44.
- 833 ROOT, R.K., "Publication before printing", *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 28, NS 21 (1913), pp. 417-431.
- 834 WITTMANN, R., *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Munich, 1991).

8.2.1 Antiquity, Byzantium and Early Middle Ages

- 835 ARNS, E., *La technique du livre d'après saint Jérôme* (Paris, 1953).
- 836 DOANE, A.N., "The ethnography of scribal writing and Anglo-Saxon poetry: Scribe as performer", *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994), pp. 420-439.
- 837 GÓRECKI, D.M., "Books, production of books and reading in Byzantium", *Libri* 34 (1984), pp. 113-129.
- 838 KLEBERG, T., "Commercio librario ed editoria nel mondo antico", in: No. 884, pp. 27-80.
- 839 RICHÉ, P., "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens", *Le Moyen Âge* 69 (1963), pp. 87-104; reprinted in P. RICHÉ, *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le haut Moyen Âge* (London, 1981), Essay VIII.

8.2.2 Later Middle Ages

- 840 BENNETT, H.S., "The production and dissemination of vernacular manuscripts in the fifteenth century", *The Library*, 5th series 1 (1946-1947), pp. 167-178.
- 841 CHRISTIANSON, C.P., "A century of the manuscript-book trade in late medieval London", *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, NS 12 (1984), pp. 143-165.
- 842 DEANSLEY, M., "Vernacular books in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", *Modern Language Review* 15 (1920), pp. 349-358.
- 843 DOBOZY, M., "Minstrel books: The legacy of Thomas Wright in German research", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 87 (1986), pp. 523-536.
- 844 GIESECKE, M., "Der 'abgang der erkantnusz' und die Renaissance 'wahren Wissens': Frühneuzeitliche Kritik an den mittelalterlichen Formen handschriftlicher Informationsverarbeitung", in: No. 1138, pp. 77-93.
- 845 KOPPITZ, H.-J., "Fragen nach der Verbreitung von Handschriften und Frühdrucken im 15. Jahrhundert", in: *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. L. HELLINGA and H. HÄRTEL (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 179-185.
- 846 MARTIN, H.-J., a.o., *Histoire et civilisation du livre, cinq études lyonnaises* (Geneva, 1966).
- 847 NABER, A., "Jean de Wavrin, un bibliophile du quinzième siècle", *Revue du Nord* 69 (1987), pp. 281-293.
- 848 PANDIMIGLIO, L., "Ricordanza e libro di famiglia—il manifestarsi di una nuova fonte", *Lettere italiane* 39 (1987), pp. 3-19.
- 849 PETTI BALBI, G., "Il libro nella società genovese del sec. XIII", *La bibliofolia* 80 (1978), pp. 1-45.
- 850 POTKOWSKI, E., *Książka rękopiśmienna w kulturze Polski średniowiecznej* (Warsaw, 1984).

- 851 POTKOWSKI, E., "Książka w mieście polskim xv wieku", in: *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach*, ed. A. WYROBISZ and M. TYMOWSKI (Warsaw, 1991), pp. 265-275.
- 852 POTKOWSKI, E., "Monarsze dary książkowe w polskim średniowieczu-pogrunwaldzkie dary Jagielly", in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza* (Cracow, 1993), pp. 359-373.
- 853 POTKOWSKI, E., "Pisarz i jego dzieło w średniowiecznym społeczeństwie", in: *Człowiek w średniowiecznym społeczeństwie*, ed. R. MICHAŁOWSKI a.o. (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 265-282.
- 854 RODGERS, P., "Book subscription amongst the Augustinians", *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 December 1972, pp. 1539-1540.
- 855 ROSENTHAL, J.T., "Aristocratic cultural patronage and book bequests, 1350-1500", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 64 (1982), pp. 522-548.
- 856 SCASE, W., "Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter and John Colop's 'common profit' books: Aspects of book ownership and circulation in fifteenth-century London", *Medium Aevum* 61 (1992), pp. 261-274.
- 857 ŠMAHEL, F., "Ceny rukopisných knih v Čechách do roku 1500", *Sborník Historický* 14 (1966), pp. 5-48.
- 858 STAUBACH, N., "Der Codex als Ware: Wirtschaftliche Aspekte der Handschriftenproduktion im Bereich der Devotio moderna", in: No. 949, pp. 143-161.

8.3 Reading and the Reception of Texts

- 859 BALOGH, J., "Lautes und leises Beten", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 33 (1925), pp. 345-348.
- 860 BALOGH, J., "Voces paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens", *Philologus* 82 (1927), pp. 202-240.
- 861 *Bladeren in andermans hoofd: Over lezers en leescultuur*, ed. Th. BIJVOET a.o. (Nijmegen, 1996).
- 862 CHARTIER, R., *Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading* (Worcester, N.Y., 1988).
- 863 CHRISTMANN, U., and N. GROEBEN, "Die Rezeption schriftlicher Texte", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1536-1545.
- 864 DAGENAIS, J., *The Ethic of Reading in Manuscript Culture* (Princeton, 1994).
- 865 DARNTON, R., "First steps towards a history of reading", in: R. DARNTON, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York, 1990), pp. 154-187.
- 866 ELLIS, A.W., *Reading, Writing and Dyslexia: A Cognitive Analysis* (London, 1987).

- 867 ESCARPI, R., a.o., "La lecture", in: *Les loisirs: La vie populaire en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours* 2 (Paris, s.d.), pp. 277-352.
- 868 *The Ethnography of Reading*, ed. J. BOYARIN (Berkeley, 1992).
- 869 GAUGER, H.-M., "Die sechs Kulturen in der Geschichte des Lesens", in: *Lesen und Schreiben im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer Bewertung in Deutschland, England, Frankreich* (Tübingen, 1994: *ScriptOralia* 65), pp. 27-47.
- 870 GAUGER, H.-M., "Geschichte des Lesens", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 65-84.
- 871 GROSS, S., *Lese-Zeichen: Kognition, Medium und Materialität im Leseprozess* (Darmstadt, 1994).
- 872 HANNESDÓTTIR, S.K., "Books and reading in Iceland in a historical perspective", *Libraries and Culture* 28 (1993), pp. 13-21.
- 873 *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, ed. G. CAVALLO and R. CHARTIER (Paris, 1997) [tr. of: *Storia della lettura* (Rome and Bari, 1995)].
- 874 *Histoires de la lecture: Un bilan des recherches*, ed. R. CHARTIER (Paris, 1995).
- 875 ILLICH, I., and B. SANDERS, *Das Denken lernt schreiben: Lese kult und Identität* (Hamburg, 1988).
- 876 MANGUEL, A., *A History of Reading* (New York, 1996).
- 877 MARTIN, H.-J., "Pour une histoire de la lecture", *Revue française d'Histoire du Livre* 46 (1977), pp. 583-609.
- 878 MCCARTNEY, E., "Notes on reading and praying audibly", *Classical Philology* 43 (1948), pp. 184-187.
- 879 *Pratiques de la Lecture*, ed. R. CHARTIER (Paris and Marseille, 1985).
- 880 *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. J. RAVEN a.o. (Cambridge, 1996).

8.3.1 Reading in Antiquity

- 881 BOYARIN, D., "Placing reading: Ancient Israel and medieval Europe", in: No. 501, pp. 10-37.
- 882 CAVALLO, G., "Libro e pubblico alla fine del mondo antico", in: No. 884, pp. 83-132.
- 883 CAVALLO, G., "Du volumen au codex: La lecture dans le monde romain", in: No. 873, pp. 79-107.
- 884 *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico: Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. CAVALLO (Rome and Bari, 1989).
- 885 PESANDO, F., *Libri e biblioteche* (Rome, 1994: *Vita e costumi dei romani antichi* 17).
- 886 SALLES, C., *Lire à Rome* (Paris, 1992).
- 887 STOCK, B., *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1996).

- 888 SVENBRO, J., "La Grèce archaïque et classique: L'invention de la lecture silencieuse", in: No. 873, pp. 47-77.

8.3.2 Reading in Byzantium

- 889 *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino: Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. CAVALLO (Rome and Bari, 1990).
- 890 WILSON, N.G., "Books and readers in Byzantium", in: *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, 1975), pp. 1-15.

8.3.3 Reading in the Middle Ages

- 891 BONFIL, R., "La lecture dans les communautés juives de l'Europe occidentale au Moyen Âge", in: No. 873, pp. 175-208.
- 892 *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. CLASSEN (New York, 1999: *Garland Medieval Casebooks* 24).
- 893 DE RUDDER, O., "Pour une histoire de la lecture", *Médiévales* 3 (1983), pp. 97-110.
- 894 GENEST, J.-F., "Types de livres et de lectures en Occident", in: *Le livre au Moyen Âge*, ed. J. GLENNISON (Paris, 1988), pp. 82-87.
- 895 GREEN, D., "Hören und Lesen: Zur Geschichte einer mittelalterlichen Formel", in: No. 1138, pp. 23-44.
- 896 GREEN, D.H., *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge, 1994).
- 897 ILLICH, I., "Lectio divina", in: *Frömmigkeit: Formen, Geschichte, Verhalten, Zeugnisse: Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. I. BAUER (s.l., 1993: *Forschungshefte* 13), pp. 13-26.
- 898 ILLICH, I., "Lectio Divina", in: No. 230, pp. 19-35.
- 899 RIEGER, D., "Senes Bren de Parguamina"? Zum Problem des 'gelesenen Lieds' im Mittelalter", *Romanische Forschungen* 99 (1987), pp. 1-18.

8.3.4 Reading in the Early Middle Ages

- 900 CORTHALS, J., "A reference to the listener to Early Irish prose tales?", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 23 (1992), pp. 25-27.
- 901 GROTHANS, A.A., "'Sið dir selbo lector': Cues for reading in tenth- and eleventh-century St. Gall", *Scriptorium* 51 (1997), pp. 251-302.

- 902 HOWE, N., "The cultural construction of reading in Anglo-Saxon England", in: No. 868, pp. 58-79.
- 903 PARKES, M., "Lire, écrire, interpréter le texte: Pratiques monastiques dans le haut Moyen Âge", in: No. 873, pp. 109-123.
- 904 TRAUBER, S., "Marginal problems", in: No. 1469, pp. 221-240.
- 905 SCHAEFER, U., "From an aesthetic point of view ...: Receptional aspects of Old English poetry", in: No. 1260, pp. 494-541.
- 906 VON EUW, A., "Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Evangelienbücher im Gebrauch", in: No. 949, pp. 21-30.

8.3.5 Reading in the Later Middle Ages

- 907 BELYEA, B., "Caxton's reading public", *English Language Notes* 19 (1981), pp. 14-19.
- 908 BENNETT, H.S., "Printers, authors, and readers, 1475-1557", *The Library*, 5th series 4 (1949), pp. 155-165.
- 909 BENNETT, H.S., *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557* (Cambridge, 1952).
- 910 BERGER, P., "La lecture à Valence de 1474 à 1560 (Évolution des comportements en fonction des milieux sociaux)", in: *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1981), pp. 97-110.
- 911 BOZZOLO, C., and E. ORNATO, "Les lectures des Français aux XIV^e et XV^e siècle: Une approche quantitative", in: *Ensi firent li ancessor: Mélanges de philologie médiévale offerts à Marc-René Jung*, ed. L. ROSSI, 2 vols. (Alessandria, 1997), 2, pp. 713-762.
- 912 BRAUNSTEIN, P., "L'émergence de l'individu: Approches de l'intimité, XIV^e-XV^e siècle", in: *Histoire de la vie privée, 2: De l'Europe féodale à la Renaissance*, ed. G. DUBY (Paris, 1985), pp. 526-619.
- 913 CARLQUIST, J., "Privat läsning av fornsvensk religiös litteratur", in: *Studier i svensk språkhistoria, 3: Förhandlingar vid Tredje sammankomsten för svenska språkets historia Uppsala 15-17 oktober 1992* (Uppsala, 1993: *Skrifter utgivna av institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet* 34), pp. 43-53 [repeated in: No. 321, pp. 153-167].
- 914 COLEMAN, J., "The audible Caxton: Reading and hearing in the writings of England's first publisher", *Fifteenth Century Studies* 16 (1990), pp. 83-109.
- 915 COLEMAN, J., "The solace of learning: Late medieval views on the reading aloud of literature", *Arv: Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* 46 (1990), pp. 123-131.
- 916 COLEMAN, J., "Talking of chronicles: The public reading of history in late medieval England and France", in: No. 505, pp. 91-111.
- 917 COLEMAN, J., *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996).

- 918 DE RIQUIER, M., "Épopée jongleresque à écouter et épopée romanesque à lire", in: *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste (Actes du Colloque de Liège, septembre 1957)* (Paris, 1959), pp. 75-84.
- 919 FRITZ, B., "Privata böcker och boksamlingar under folkungatiden", in: *Helgerånet: Från mässböcker till munkepärmor*, ed. K. ABUKHANFUSA (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 37-46.
- 920 GILLESPIE, V.J., "'Lukyng in haly bukes': Lectio in some late medieval spiritual miscellanies", in: *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache 2*, ed. J. HOGG (Salzburg, 1984: *Analecta Cartusiana* 106), pp. 1-27.
- 921 GRAFTON, A., "Le lecteur humaniste", in: No. 873, pp. 209-248.
- 922 GRAFTON, A., *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1997).
- 923 HAMESSE, J., "Le modèle scolastique de la lecture", in: No. 873, pp. 125-145.
- 924 HOGENELST, D., "De receptie van berijmde artes-literatuur", in: *Een school spie-rinkjes: Kleine opstellen over Middelnederlandse artes-literatuur*, ed. W.P. GERRITSEN a.o. (Hilversum, 1991: *Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen* 26), pp. 88-89.
- 925 ILLICH, I., *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary on Hugh of St Victor's "Didascalion"* (Chicago, 1993) [English tr. of *Du lisible au visible: Sur l'Art de lire de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, revised by M. SISSUNG (Paris, 1991)].
- 926 KÜRBIS, B., "Pisarze i czytelnicy w Polsce XII i XIII wieku", in: *Polska dzielnicowa i zjednoczona*, ed. A. GIEYSZTOR (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 159-201.
- 927 *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, ed. T. KOCK and R. SCGLUSEMANN (Frankfurt a.M., 1997).
- 928 LIE, O.S.H., "Van onmondig publiek tot zelfstandige lezer: Het publiek van Middelnederlandse artes-teksten", in: No. 203, pp. 189-203.
- 929 MANDINGORRA LLAVATA, M.L., "El libro y la lectura en Valencia, 1300-1410: notas para su estudio", *Anuario de estudios medievales* 21 (1991), pp. 549-69.
- 930 MANTINGH, E., "Lanceloet, Perchevael, Moriaen, en de spin Sebastiaan: Luisteren met tussenpozen?", in: *De Ongevalliche Lanceloet: Studies over de Lancelotcompilatie*, ed. B. BESAMUSCA and F. BRANDSMA (Hilversum, 1992: *Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen* 28), pp. 44-75.
- 931 ODDOS, J.-P., "La manière de (bien) lire", *Gazette des beaux-arts* 100 (1982), pp. 175-177.
- 932 PLEIJ, H., "Met een boekje in een hoekje? Over literatuur en lezen in de middeleeuwen", in: *Het woord aan de lezer: Zeven literatuurhistorische verkenningen*, ed. W. VAN DEN BERG and J. STOUTEN (Groningen, 1987), pp. 16-48.
- 933 REYNOLDS, S., "'Let him read the Satires of Horace': Reading, literacy, and grammar in the twelfth century", in: No. 880, pp. 22-40.
- 934 REYNOLDS, S., *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 27).

- 935 ROSE, J., "Rereading the English common reader: a preface to a history of audiences", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52 (1992), pp. 47-70.
- 936 SAENGER, P., "Manières de lire médiévales", in: No. 827, pp. 131-141.
- 937 SAENGER, P., "Books of hours and the reading habits of the later Middle Ages", in: No. 999, pp. 141-173.
- 938 SAENGER, P., "Lire aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge", in: No. 873, pp. 147-174.
- 939 SCHOLZ, M.G., *Hören und Lesen: Studien zur primären Rezeption der Literatur im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1980).
- 940 SCHREINER, K., "Bücher, Bibliotheken und 'Gemeiner Nutzen' im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit: Geistes- und sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Frage nach der 'Utilitas Librorum' ", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 9 (1975), pp. 202-249.
- 941 VAN SELM, B., "Almanacken, lietjes, en somwijl wat wonder, wat nieuws: Volkslectuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1800): een onbekende grootheid", *Leidschrift* 5 (1989), pp. 33-69.
- 942 WENZEL, H., "Hören und Sehen: Zur Lesbarkeit von Körperzeichen in der höfischen Literatur", in: *Personenbeziehungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. H. BRALL a.o. (Düsseldorf, 1994: *Studia humaniora* 25), pp. 191-218.
- 943 WENZEL, H., "Artes und Repräsentation: Zur doppelten Lesbarkeit volkssprachlicher Lehrdichtung im Spannungsverhältnis von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 1034, pp. 73-94.

8.3.6 Reading in Early Modern Times

- 944 ENGELSING, R., "Die perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit", in: R. ENGELSING, *Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Mittel- und Unterschichten* (Göttingen, 1973).
- 945 ENGELSING, R., *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland, 1500-1800* (Stuttgart, 1974).

8.3.7 Reading, Lay-out, Manuscript Research and Editorial Techniques

- 946 BOURGAIN, P., "L'édition des textes vernaculaires", in: *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe: Actes du premier congrès européen d'études médiévales* (Spoleto, 27-29 mai 1993), ed. J. HAMESSE (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), pp. 427-448.
- 947 BOYLE, L.E., "Tonic accent, codicology, and literacy", in: *The Centre and Its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*,

- ed. R.A. TAYLOR a.o. (Kalamazoo, 1993: *Studies in Medieval Culture* 33), pp. 1-10.
- 948 CHAYTOR, H.J., "The medieval reader and textual criticism", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 26 (1941-42), pp. 49-56.
- 949 *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, ed. C. MEIER a.o. (Munich, 1996: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 70).
- 950 DALY, L.W., *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Brussels, 1967 = *Latomus: Revue d'études latines* 90).
- 951 DOANE, A.N., "Oral texts, intertexts, and intratexts: Editing Old English", in: *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. J. CLAYTON and E. ROTHSTEIN (Madison, Wisc., 1991), pp. 75-111.
- 952 DOANE, A.N., "Editing Old English oral/written texts: problems of method", in: *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. D.G. SCRAGG and P.E. SZARMACH (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 125-145.
- 953 EVANS, M.J., *Rereading Middle English Romance: Manuscript, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (Belfast, 1995).
- 954 FOLEY, J.M., "Editing oral epic texts: Theory and practice", *Text* 1 (1981), pp. 75-94.
- 955 FRANK, B., "Zur Entwicklung der graphischen Präsentation mittelalterlicher Texte", in: *Schriftkultur und sprachlicher Wandel*, ed. J. ERFURT and J. GESSINGER (Osnabrück, 1993: *Osnabrücker Beiträge zur Sprachtheorie* 47), pp. 60-81.
- 956 FRANK, B., *Die Textgestalt als Zeichen: Lateinische Handschriftentradition und die Verschriftlichung der romanischen Sprachen* (Tübingen, 1994: *ScriptOralia* 67).
- 957 FRANK, B., and J. HARTMANN, "Les indications métacommunicatives des premiers documents des langues romanes", in: No. 581, pp. 207-226.
- 958 GALLMANN, P., "Interpunktion", in: No. 132, 2, pp. 1456-1467.
- 959 GERRITSEN, W.P., *De constructie van het geheugen: De rubricatie in een incunabel uit de Utrechtse Paulusabdij en de geschiedenis van het lezen* (Utrecht, 1994).
- 960 GUMBERT, J.P., "La page intelligible: Quelques remarques", in: *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge: Actes de la table ronde, Paris 24-26 septembre 1987*, ed. O. WEIJERS (Turnhout, 1989: *CIVICIMA* 2), pp. 111-119.
- 961 GUMBERT, J.P., "Zur 'Typographie' der geschriebenen Seite", in: No. 1138, pp. 283-292.
- 962 KUBOUCHI, T., "Manuscript punctuation, prose rhythm and S ... V element order in late English orally-delivered prose", in: *Philologia Anglica: Essays Presented to Professor Yoshio Terasawa on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. K. OSHITARI a.o. (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 71-87.
- 963 MACHAN, T.W., "Editing, orality, and late Middle English texts", in: No. 213, pp. 229-245.

- 964 MARCHELLO-NIZIA, C., "Ponctuation et 'unités de lecture' dans les manuscrits médiévaux ou: je ponctue, tu lis, il théorise", *Langue Française* 40 (1978), pp. 32-44.
- 965 *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D.C. GREETHAM (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1997).
- 966 MCKENZIE, D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986).
- 967 *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. H.-J. MARTIN and J. VEZIN (Paris, 1990).
- 968 MOREAU-MARECHAL, J., "Recherches sur la ponctuation", *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), pp. 56-66.
- 969 MÜLLER, R.W., *Rhetorische und syntaktische Interpunktion* (diss. Tübingen, 1964).
- 970 NICHOLS, S.G., "On the sociology of medieval manuscript annotation", in: *Annotation and Its Texts*, ed. S.A. BARNEY (New York, 1991: *Publications of the University of California Humanities Research Institute*), pp. 43-73.
- 971 NILES, J.D., "Editing Beowulf: What can study of ballads tell us?", *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994), pp. 440-467.
- 972 *Organizing the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts: Proceedings of the First Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht 5-7 June 1997*, ed. M. MOSTERT (Turnhout, 1999: *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 2) [in the press].
- 973 PALMER, N.F., "Kapitel und Buch: Zu den Gliederungsprinzipien mittelalterlicher Bücher", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), pp. 43-88.
- 974 PARKES, M.B., "Punctuation, or pause and effect", in: *Medieval Eloquence*, ed. J.J. MURPHY (Berkeley etc., 1978), pp. 127-142.
- 975 PARKES, M.B., *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande, 1991).
- 976 PARKES, M.B., *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992).
- 977 PARKES, M.B., "Buchversorgung und Buchgebrauch in den Ordenshäusern der Oxforder Universität", in: No. 949, pp. 109-126.
- 978 *La Présentation du livre: Actes du colloque de Paris x-Nanterre, 4-6 décembre 1985*, ed. N. BAUMGARTNER and N. BOULESTREAU (Paris, 1987: *Littérales* 2), pp. 13-24.
- 979 RAIBLE, W., *Die Semiotik der Textgestalt: Erscheinungsformen und Folgen eines kulturellen Evolutionsprozesses* (Heidelberg, 1991: *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1991), 1. Abhandlung).
- 980 RAIBLE, W., "Der Einfluß des Lesers auf die Entwicklung von Orthographiesystemen (Kurzfassung)", in: No. 804, pp. 51-52.
- 981 ROUSE, M.A., and R. ROUSE, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame and London, 1991).

- 982 *Der Sachsenspiegel als Buch: Vorträge und Aufsätze*, ed. R. SCHMIDT-WIEGAND and D. HÜPPER (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1991: *Germanistische Arbeiten zu Sprache und Kulturgeschichte* 1).
- 983 SAENGER, P., "Silent reading: Its impact on fourteenth century script and society", *Manuscripta* 23 (1979), pp. 20-21.
- 984 SAENGER, P., "Silent reading: Its impact on late medieval script and society", *Viator* 13 (1982), pp. 367-414.
- 985 SAENGER, P., "Physiologie de la lecture et séparation des mots", *Annales E.S.C.* 44 (1989), pp. 939-952.
- 986 SAENGER, P., *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997).
- 987 SAENGER, P., and M. HEINLEN, "Incunable description and its implication for the analysis of fifteenth-century reading habits", in: No. 1017, pp. 225-258.
- 988 SCHIEWER, H.-J., "Spuren von Mündlichkeit in der mittelalterlichen Predigtüberlieferung: Ein Plädoyer für exemplarisches und beschreibend-interpretierendes Edieren", *Editio* 6 (1992), pp. 64-79.
- 989 THOMÉ, G., "Alphabetschrift und Schriftsystem: Über die Prinzipien der Orthographie aus schrifthistorischer Sicht", *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 20 (1992), pp. 210-226.
- 990 VITZ, E.B., "On the role of a renewed philology in the study of a manuscript- and a oral culture", *Towards a Synthesis?*, ed. K. BUSBY (Amsterdam etc., 1993), pp. 71-78.
- 991 WIESIOŁOWSKI, J., *Kolekcje historyczne w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Wrocław and Warsaw, 1967).

8.4 The Printed Word

- 992 ALTMANN, U., "Leserkreise zur Inkunabelzeit", in: *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. L. HELLINGA and H. HÄRTEL (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 203-217.
- 993 BALSAMO, L., "The origins of printing in Italy and England", *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976-1977), pp. 48-63.
- 994 BROUWER, H., "De vele geschiedenissen van het boek: Bij wijze van inleiding", *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 1 (1994), pp. 7-24.
- 995 BROWN, C.J., *Poets, Patrons and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1995).
- 996 CHARTIER, R., *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, 1987).
- 997 CHRISMAN, M.U., *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1519* (New Haven and London, 1982).
- 998 CLAPHAM, M., "Printing", in: *A History of Technology* 3, ed. C. SINGER a.o. (Oxford, 1957), pp. 377-416.

- 999 *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. R. CHARTIER (Princeton, 1989).
- 1000 *Een drukker zoekt publiek: Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484*, ed. K. GOUDRIAAN a.o. (Delft, 1993).
- 1001 EISENSTEIN, E.L., "In the wake of the printing press", *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 35 (1978), pp. 183-197.
- 1002 EISENSTEIN, E.L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1980).
- 1003 EISENSTEIN, E.L., *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).
- 1004 FEBVRE, L., and H.-J. MARTIN, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London, 1976) [tr. of: *L'Apparition du Livre* (Paris, 1958)].
- 1005 *Gedrukt in Holland*, ed. J.W.J. BURGERS a.o. (Hilversum, 1994 = *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 26 (1994), Nos.4-5).
- 1006 GIESECKE, M., "'Volksprache' und 'Verschriftlichung des Lebens' im Spätmittelalter: Am Beispiel der Genese der gedruckten Fachprosa in Deutschland", in: *Literatur in der Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters*, ed. H.U. GUMBRECHT (Heidelberg, 1980), pp. 39-70.
- 1007 GIESECKE, M., *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit: Eine Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien* (Frankfurt a.M., 1991).
- 1008 GIESECKE, M., "Sinnenwandel und Sprachwandel: Von der multisensoriellen Semantiken des Mittelalters zur visuellen Semantik der Neuzeit", in: M. GIESECKE, *Sinnenwandel: Sprachwandel: Kulturwandel: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Informationsgesellschaft* (Frankfurt a.M., 1992), pp. 209-243.
- 1009 GRAFTON, A.T., "The importance of being printed", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11 (1980), pp. 265-286.
- 1010 GRIESE, S., "'Dirigierte Kommunikation': Beobachtungen zu xylographischen Einblattgedrucken und ihrer Textsorten im 15. Jahrhundert", in: *Das illustrierte Flugblatt 1450-1750 in kombinierten Perspektiven mehrerer Fachgebiete*, ed. M. SCHILLING and W. HARMS [in the press].
- 1011 GUMBRECHT, H.U., "The body vs. the printing press: Media in the early modern period, mentalities in the reign of Castile, and another history of literary forms", *Sociocriticism* 1 (1985), pp. 179-202.
- 1012 MANDROU, R., "Le livre, ce ferment", *Revue française d'Histoire du Livre* 1 (1971), pp. 1-8.
- 1013 MC LUHAN, M., "The effect of the printed book on language in the 16th century", in: *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*, ed. E. CARPENTER and M. MC LUHAN (Boston, 1966), pp. 125-135.
- 1014 MÜLLER, J.-D., "Der Körper des Buches: Zum Medienwechsel zwischen Handschrift und Druck", in: No. 25, pp. 203-217.

- 1015 NELLHAUS, T.B., "Mementos of things to come: orality, literacy, and typology", in: No. 1017, pp. 292-321.
- 1016 *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, ed. G.P. TYSON and S.S. WAGONHEIM (Newark, 1986).
- 1017 *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, ed. S. HINDMAN (Ithaca and London, 1991).
- 1018 *La Réforme et le Livre: L'Europe de l'imprimerie (1517-v. 1570)*, ed. J.-F. GILMONT (Paris, 1990).
- 1019 RICHARDSON, B., *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 1994).
- 1020 STEINBERG, S.H., *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, new edn., revised by J. TREVITT (London, 1996).
- 1021 VAN DEN OORD, C.J.A., *Twee eeuwen Bosch' boekbedrijf 1450-1650: Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van Bossche boekdrukkers, uitgevers en librariërs voor het regionale socio-culturele leven* (Tilburg, 1984).
- 1022 VAN LENTE, D., and O. DE WIT, "Papier, druk en communicatie", in: *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland*, 2 (Zutphen, 1993).
- 1023 "Verbreitung von Drucken in den Landessprachen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1987, pp. 16-108.
- 1024 VERVLIJT, H.D.L., "Gutenberg or Diderot? Printing as a factor in world history", *Quaerendo* 8 (1978), pp. 3-28.

9. The Preservation of Written Texts

Although the question of the preservation and loss of documents is of vital importance to the subject of medieval communication, no titles are listed in this section. The literature on medieval libraries and archives is huge, and may be found through the current bibliographies on medieval studies.

10. Correspondence

- 1025 CHARTIER, R., A. BOUREAU, and C. DAUPHIN, *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Centuries*, tr. C. WOODALL (Oxford, 1997).
- 1026 GARRISON, M., " 'Send more socks': On mentality and the preservation context of medieval letters", in this volume, pp. 67-97.
- 1027 GRIMBERG, M., *Untersuchungen zum Verlust der Schriftsprachlichkeit: Entstehungsgeschichte, -bedingungen und Einflussfaktoren einer allgemeinen Literalität unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der schriftlich fixierten privaten Kommunikation* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1988).

- 1028 HOFFMANN, H., "Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik", in: *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10. April 1964*, ed. K. REGEN and S. SKALWEIT (Münster, 1964), pp. 141-170.
- 1029 KÖHN, R., "Latein und Volkssprache, Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in der Korrespondenz des lateinischen Mittelalters", in: *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, ed. J.O. FICHTE a.o. (Berlin and New York, 1986), pp. 340-356.
- 1030 SALMINEN, T., "Multilinguality and written correspondence in the late medieval Northern Baltics: Reflections of literacy and language in the communication between the Council of Reval and the Finnish bailiffs", in: No. 514, pp. 151-162.
- 1031 SÖDERBERG, B., "Inledning samt översättning av V. Janins föreläsning om Novgorods medeltida näverbrev", in: No. 321.
- 1032 TAYLOR, J., "Letters and letter collections in England, 1300-1420", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980), pp. 57-70.
- 1033 TEUSCHER, S., "Bernische Privatbriefe aus der Zeit um 1500: Überlegungen zu ihren zeitgenössischen Funktionen und zu Möglichkeiten ihrer historischer Auswertung", in: *Mittelalterliche Literatur im Lebenszusammenhang: Ergebnisse des Troisième Cycle Romand 1994*, ed. C.E. LUTZ (Fribourg, 1997), pp. 359-385.

11. Mandarin Literacy

- 1034 *Artes im Medienwechsel* (Berlin, 1998: *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 3.1).
- 1035 CARRUTHERS, M., *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 34).
- 1036 COPELAND, R., *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 11).
- 1037 FÜGEDI, E., "Les intellectuels et la société dans la Hongrie médiévale", in: E. FÜGEDI, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. J. BAK (Aldershot, 1986), Essay VII, pp. 1-14.
- 1038 GELLRICH, J.M., *Discourse and Dominion in the Fourteenth Century: Oral Contexts of Writing in Philosophy, Politics and Poetry* (Princeton, 1995).
- 1039 HAYE, T., "Rhetorische Lehrbücher und oratorische Praxis: Einige Bemerkungen zu den lateinischen Reden des hohen Mittelalters", in: No. 1034, pp. 45-54.
- 1040 HINTZ, E.R., *Learning and Persuasion in the German Middle Ages* (New York, 1998: *Garland Studies in Medieval Literature* 15).

- 1041 MEIER, C., "*Pascua, rura, duces*—Verschriftungsmodi der Artes mechanicae in Lehrdichtung und Fachprosa der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 1-50.
- 1042 MEIER, C., "Organization of knowledge and encyclopaedic *ordo*: Functions and purposes of a universal literary genre", in: *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, ed. P. BINKLEY (Leiden etc., 1997), pp. 103-126.
- 1043 SCHAEFER, U., "*Artes* im Medienwechsel: Eine Einleitung", in: No. 1034, pp. 3-12.
- 1044 *Tous les savoirs du monde: Encyclopédies et bibliothèques, de Sumer au XXI^e siècle*, ed. R. SCHAEER (Paris, 1996).
- 1045 VON MOOS, P., "Zwischen Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit: Dialogische Interaktion im lateinischen Hochmittelalter (Vorstellung des neuen Teilprojektes H im Sonderforschungsbereich 231)", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 300-314.

12. The use of writing by different social groups

- 1046 ELWERT, G., "Die gesellschaftliche Einbettung von Schriftgebrauch", in: *Theorie als Passion: Niklas Luhmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. D. BAECKER a.o. (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), pp. 238-268.
- 1047 STOCK, B., "Medieval literacy, linguistic theory, and social organization", in: No. 670, pp. 13-29.
- 1048 STOCK, B., "Literacy and society in the twelfth century", in: *The Spirit of the Court*, ed. G.S. BURGESS and R.A. TAYLOR (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 1-4.

12.1 Clergy and Laymen

- 1049 BIENIAK, J., "'Litterati' świeccy w procesie warszawskim z 1339 roku", in: *Cultus et cognitio* (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 97-106.
- 1050 ELM, K., "Mendikantenstudium, Laienbildung und Klerikerschulung im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen", in: *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. B. MOELLER (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 586-617.
- 1051 HILPERT, H.-E., "Geistliche Bildung und Laienbildung: Zur Überlieferung der Schulschrift *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (*Compendium veteris testamenti*) des Petrus von Poitiers (†1205) in England", *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985), pp. 315-331.
- 1052 ILLICH, I., "Ein Plädoyer für die Erforschung der Laienlitteralität", in: *Von Aufbruch und Utopie: Perspektiven einer neuen Gesellschaftsgeschichte des Mittel-*

- alters: *Für und mit Ferdinand Seibt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstags*, ed. B. LUNDT and H. REIMÖLLER (Cologne, 1992), pp. 181-201.
- 1053 PARKES, M.B., "The literacy of the laity", in: *The Medieval World*, ed. D. DAICHES and A. THORLBY (London, 1973), pp. 555-577.
- 1054 RICHTER, M., "... quisquis scit scribere, nullum potat abere labore": Zur Laienschriftlichkeit im 8. Jahrhundert", in: *Karl Martell in Seiner Zeit*, ed. J. JARNUT a.o. (Sigmaringen, 1994: *Beihefte der Francia* 37), pp. 393-403.
- 1055 SCHREINER, K., "Laienbildung als Herausforderung für Kirche und Gesellschaft", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 11 (1984), pp. 257-353.
- 1056 SKUPIEŃSKI, K., "O wpółdziale dyplomatyki w badaniu piśmiennej warstwy polskiego społeczeństwa średniowiecznego", in: *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti: Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej* (Toruń, 1997), pp. 529-538.
- 1057 THOMPSON, J.W., *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939).

12.1.1 Secular Clergy

- 1058 AMOS, T.L., "Early medieval sermons and their audience", in: *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9-11 juillet 1992)*, ed. J. HAMESSE and X. HERMAND (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993: *Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales: Textes, Études, Congrès* 14), pp. 311-340.
- 1059 BEHRMANN, T., *Domkapitel und Schriftlichkeit in Novara (11. bis 13. Jahrhundert): Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte von S. Maria und S. Gaudenzio im Spiegel der urkundlichen Überlieferung* (Tübingen, 1994: *Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 77).
- 1060 DAXELMULLER, C., "Literarisierte Mündlichkeit-Mündliche Schriftlichkeit: Anmerkungen zum Weltbild und zur Weltdeutung mittelalterlicher und nachmittelalterlicher Exempelaufgaben", in: No. 1274, pp. 125-145.
- 1061 KŁOCZOWSKI, J., "Kler katolicki w Polsce średniowiecznej: problem pochodzenia i dróg awansu", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88 (1988), pp. 923-938.
- 1062 OŻÓG, K., *Kultura umysłowa w Krakowie w XIV w.: Środowisko duchowieństwa świeckiego* (Wrocław etc., 1987).
- 1063 SCHARFF, T., "Schrift zur Kontrolle-Kontrolle der Schrift: Italienische und französische Inquisitoren-Handbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 52 (1996), pp. 547-584.
- 1064 TREDE, J., *Untersuchungen zum Verschriftlichungsprozeß im nördlichen Mailänder Contado: Die Pilgerkirche S. Maria di Monte Velate (12./13. Jahrhundert)* (diss. Münster, 1994).

- 1065 TRISTRAM, H.L.C., *Early Insular Preaching: Verbal Artistry and Method of Composition* (Vienna, 1995: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-Hist. Klasse: Sitzungsberichte 623).
- 1066 VOLK-BIRKE, S., *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching: Rhetoric for Listeners in Sermons and Poetry* (Tübingen, 1991: *ScriptOralia* 34).
- 1067 VON NOLCKEN, C., "Some alphabetical compendia and how preachers used them in fourteenth-century England", *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 271-288.

12.1.2 Regular Clergy

- 1068 ASHCROFT, J., "Bruder Hans's 'Teutsch Psalter': Use of literacy in a late medieval monastery", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 60 (1985), pp. 125-139.
- 1069 BELL, D.N., *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, 1995).
- 1070 CYGLER, F., "Vom 'Wort' Brunos zum gesetzten Recht der Statuten über die 'Consuetudines Guigonis': *Propositum* und Institutionalisierung im Spiegel der kartäusischen Ordensschriftlichkeit (11.-14. Jahrhundert)", in: No. 209.
- 1071 FRANK, K.S., "Lesen, Schreiben und Bücher im frühen Mönchtum", in: No. 230, pp. 7-18.
- 1072 HILDBRAND, T., *Herrschaft, Schrift und Gedächtnis: Das Kloster Allerheiligen und sein Umgang mit Wissen in Wirtschaft, Recht und Archiv (11.-16. Jahrhundert)* (Zürich, 1996).
- 1073 HLAVÁČEK, I., "Kláštery a jejich školství v Čechách v době předhusitské", in: *Klasztor w spókeczestwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. M. DERWICH and A. POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ (Opole and Wrocław, 1996), pp. 241-246.
- 1074 KASPER, C., "Von der *exhortatio* zur *regula*: Von mündlicher Regelung zu schriftlicher Regel im Mönchtum von Lérins", in: No. 1076, pp. 36-55.
- 1075 KELLER, H., "Zur Einführung: Formen des Schriftgebrauchs im Zusammenschluß geistlicher Gemeinschaften", in: No. 1076, pp. 1-6.
- 1076 *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband: Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit*, ed. H. KELLER and F. NEISKE (Munich, 1997: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 74).
- 1077 KOLB, H., "Rolandslied-lesung im deutschen Orden", *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 15 (1990), pp. 1-12.
- 1078 MELVILLE, G., "Zur Funktion der Schriftlichkeit im institutionellen Gefüge mittelalterlicher Orden", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 391-417.
- 1079 MOSTERT, M., "Communicatie in het vroegmiddeleeuwse klooster: Over de rol van de kloosterbibliotheek", in: *Van frictie tot wetenschap: Jaarboek 1991-1992 Vereniging van Akademie-onderzoekers* (Amsterdam, 1992), pp. 105-116.
- 1080 ORBÁN, A.P., "De invloed van het ascetisch ideaal der kartuizers op hun oraal en schriftelijk gebruik van het Latijn", in: No. 203, pp. 103-118.

- 1081 *De ordine vitae: Zu Normvorstellungen, Organisationsformen und Schriftgebrauch im mittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. G. MELVILLE (Münster, s.d.: *Vita regularis: Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* 1).
- 1082 SCHREINER, K., "Verschriftlichung als Faktor monastischer Reform: Funktionen von Schriftlichkeit im Ordenswesen des hohen und späten Mittelalters", in: No. 1138, pp. 37-75.
- 1083 SEMMLER, J., "Administration und Schriftlichkeit im Dienste der Reform", in: No. 1140, pp. 67-84.
- 1084 SOONS, A., "A figure out of oral tradition? Friar Rush and his quality", *Cithara: Essays in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition* 30 (1990), pp. 31-43.
- 1085 STOPKA, J., "Szkola zakonna w Polsce średniowiecznej jako problem badawczy", in: *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, ed. A. POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ and M. DERWICH (Opole, 1995), pp. 49-62.
- 1086 WENDEHORST, A., "Monachus scribere nesciens", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963), pp. 67-75.
- 1087 WOLLASCH, J., "Reformmönchtum und Schriftlichkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), pp. 274-286.
- 1088 WOLLASCH, J., "Zur Verschriftlichung der klösterlichen Lebensgewohnheiten unter Abt Hugo von Cluny", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 317-349.

12.2 Aristocrats

- 1089 ALTHOFF, G., "Anlässe zur schriftlichen Fixierung adeligen Selbstverständnisses", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 134 (1986), pp. 34-46.
- 1090 DOWLAT, J., "Kształcenie umysłowe synów książęcych i możnowładczych w Polsce i niektórych krajach sąsiednich w X-XII w.", in: *Polska w świecie* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 57-93.
- 1091 FÜGEDI, E., "*Verba volant*: Oral culture and literacy among the medieval Hungarian nobility", in: E. FÜGEDI, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. J. BAK (Aldershot, 1986), Essay VI, pp. 1-25.
- 1092 GALBRAITH, V.H., "The literacy of medieval English kings", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21 (1935), pp. 201-238; reprinted in: V.H. GALBRAITH, *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History* (London, 1982), Essay I, pp. 78-111.
- 1093 JONES, M., "L'aptitude à lire et à écrire des ducs de Bretagne à la fin du Moyen Âge et un usage précoce de l'imprimerie", *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 62 (1985), pp. 37-53.
- 1094 KARTSCHKE, D., "Ulrich von Liechtenstein und die Laienkultur des deutschen Südostens im Übergang zur Schriftlichkeit", in: *Die mittelalterliche Literatur in Kärnten*, ed. H. BIRKHAN (Vienna, 1981: *Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie* 16), pp. 103-143.

- 1095 KRUGER, S., " 'Verhöflichter Krieger' und miles illitteratus", in: *Curialitas: Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur*, ed. J. FLECKENSTEIN (Göttingen, 1990: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 100), pp. 326-349.
- 1096 MULLER, J.-D., "Bild-Vers-Prosakommentar am Beispiel von Fechtbüchern: Probleme der Verschriftlichung einer schriftlosen Praxis", in: No. 1138, pp. 251-282.
- 1097 SABLONIER, R., "Schriftlichkeit, Adelsbesitz und adliges Handeln im 13. Jahrhundert", in: *Nobilitas: Funktion und Repräsentation des Adels in Alteuropa*, ed. G. OEXLE and W. PARAVICINI (Göttingen, 1997: *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 133), pp. 67-100.
- 1098 TURNER, R.V., "The miles literatus in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England: How rare a phenomenon?", *American Historical Review* 83 (1978), pp. 928-945.
- 1099 WALSH, R., "Une citation inexacte de Lucaïn par Charles le Téméraire et Louis XI: De l'évaluation de l'instruction princière au quinzième siècle", *Le Moyen Âge* 86 (1980), pp. 439-451.

12.3 Peasants

- 1100 GINZBURG, C., *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, 1980) [tr. of *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin, 1976)].
- 1101 GUREVICH, A.J., "Oral and written culture of the Middle Ages: Two 'peasant visions' of the late twelfth-early thirteenth centuries", in: No. 670, pp. 51-66.
- 1102 TOCH, M., "Schimpfwörter im Dorf des Spätmittelalters", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 101 (1993), pp. 311-327.
- 1103 WALZ, R., "Agonale Kommunikation im Dorf der frühen Neuzeit", *Westfälische Forschungen* 42 (1992), pp. 215-251.
- 1104 WICKHAM, C.J., *Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry* (Birmingham, 1995).

12.4 Town Dwellers

- 1105 SKRZYPCZAK, H., *Stadt und Schriftlichkeit im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte des Schreibens* (diss. Berlin, Freie Universität, 1956).

12.5 Women

- 1106 BOFFEY, J., "Women authors and women's literacy in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England", in: *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*, ed. C.M. MEALE (Cambridge, 1993: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 17), pp. 159-182.
- 1107 BOKLUND-LAGOPOULOU, K., " 'This creature': Discourse on women and discourse by women in the Middle Ages", *Gramma: Journal of Theory and Criticism-Gramma: Periodiko Theorias-kai-Kritikes* 1 (1993), pp. 15-39.
- 1108 GRUNDMANN, H., "Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Schrifttums in der Volkssprache", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 26 (1936), pp. 129-161, reprinted in: H. GRUNDMANN, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1976-1978: *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 25,1-3), 3: *Bildung und Sprache*, pp. 67-95.
- 1109 HARRINGTON, S.M., "Women, literacy, and intellectual culture in Anglo-Saxon England", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 52,1 (1991), p. 147A.
- 1110 HORNER, S.L., "Women's literacy and female textuality in Old English poetry", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 53,6 (1992) p. 1924A.
- 1111 JANOWSKA, B., "Wychowanie dziewcząt w średniowiecznej Polsce", in: *Nauczanie w dawnych wiekach*, ed. W. IWAŃCZAK and K. BRACHA (Kielce, 1997), pp. 199-204.
- 1112 KURBIS, B., "Wstęp", in: *Modlitwy książęcej Gertudy z Psalterza Egberta w Cividale* (Cracow, 1998), pp. 7-78.
- 1113 LLOYD MORGAN, C., "Oral composition and written transmission: Welsh women's poetry from the Middle Ages and beyond", *Trivium* 26 (1991), pp. 89-102.
- 1114 MCCONEGHY, P.M., "Women's speech and silence in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 102 (1987), pp. 772-783.
- 1115 MCKITTERICK, R., "Frauen und Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter", in: *Weibliche Lebensgestaltung im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. H.-W. GOETZ (Cologne, 1991), pp. 65-118.
- 1116 MCKITTERICK, R., "Early medieval book production and the problem of female literacy", *Theoretische Geschichte* 19 (1992), pp. 147-168.
- 1117 MIGLIO, L., "Leggere e scrivere il volgare: Sull'alfabetismo delle donne nella Toscana tardo medievale", *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 103, NS 29 (1989), pp. 355-383.
- 1118 PRETZEL, M.U., "Woman and knowledge of Greek language in tenth-century Germany: Comments on a recent article", *Comitatus* 17 (1986), pp. 70-8.
- 1119 *Reclaiming Rhetorica: Women in the Rhetorical Tradition*, ed. A.A. LUNSFORD a.o. (Pittsburgh, 1995: *Pitt Series in Composition, Literacy, and Culture*), pp. 73-92.

- 1120 SCHREINER, K., "Konnte Maria lesen? Von der Magd des Herrn zur Symbolgestalt mittelalterlicher Frauenbildung", *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken* 44 (1990), pp. 82-88.
- 1121 SCOTT, K., "‘Io Catarina’: Ecclesiastical politics and oral culture in the letters of Catherine of Siena", in: *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, ed. K. CHEREWATUK and V. WIETHAUS (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 87-121, 193-206.
- 1122 SHEINGORN, P., "‘The wise mother’: The image of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary", *Gesta* 32 (1993), pp. 69-80.
- 1123 SPANILY, C., *Konzeptionen weiblichen Literatentums im Mittelalter: Zwischen Assimilation an traditionelle Muster und eigenem Rollenmodell* (diss. Münster, 1998).
- 1124 TARVERS, J.K., "‘This ys my mystrys boke’: English women as readers and writers in late medieval England", in: *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Judson Boyce Allen*, ed. C. COOK MORSE a.o. (Kalamazoo, 1992: *Studies in Medieval Culture* 31), pp. 305-327.
- 1125 *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. J. TAYLOR and L. SMITH (London, 1997: *The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture* 3).
- 1126 *Women, the Book and the Godly*, ed. L.J. SMITH and J.H.M. TAYLOR (Woodbridge, 1995).
- 1127 *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, ed. L.J. SMITH and J.H.M. TAYLOR (Woodbridge, 1995).

13. *The Use of Writing in Government, Management and Trade*

- 1128 BARROW, G., "The pattern of non-literary manuscript production and survival in Scotland, 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 131-145.
- 1129 BEHRMANN, T., "The development of pragmatic literacy in the Lombard city communes", in: No. 1137, pp. 25-41.
- 1130 BRITNELL, R., "Pragmatic Literacy in Latin Christendom", in: No. 1137, pp. 3-24.
- 1131 BRITNELL, R., "Pragmatic literacy beyond Latin christendom", in: No. 1137, pp. 167-188.
- 1132 BURGERS, J.W.J., E.C. DIJKHOF and J.G. KRUISHEER, "De doordringing van het schrift in Holland en Zeeland in de tweede helft van de dertiende eeuw", in: *Wi Florens ... De Hollandse graaf Floris v in de samenleving van de dertiende eeuw*, ed. D.E.H. DE BOER a.o. (Utrecht, 1996), pp. 191-211.
- 1133 GUTH, D.J., "Introduction: Formulary and literacy as keys to unlocking late-medieval law", in: *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: Espace français, espace anglais*, ed. K. FIANU and D.J. GUTH (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997: *Fédération Internationale des Départements d'Études Médiévales: Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 6), pp. 1-12.

- 1134 GUYOTJEANNIN, O., "French manuscript sources, 1250-1330" in: No. 1137, pp. 51-71.
- 1135 HALL, R.A., "Orality and organization", *Olifant* 8 (1980-1981), pp. 389-390.
- 1136 PETRUCCI, A., "I documenti privati come fonte per lo studio dell'alfabetismo e della cultura scritta", in: *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. P. BREZZI and E. LEE (Toronto, 1984: *Papers in Medieval Studies* 5), pp. 251-266.
- 1137 *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330*, ed. R. BRITNELL (Woodbridge, 1996).
- 1138 *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen (Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums 17.-19. Mai 1989)*, ed. H. KELLER a.o. (Munich, 1992: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 65).
- 1139 *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XI^e siècle*, ed. O. GUYOTJEANNIN, L. MORELLE, and M. PARISSE (Geneva, 1997: *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 155 No.1).
- 1140 *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern: Referate des Kolloquiums der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 17./18. Februar 1994 in Bonn*, ed. R. SCHIEFFER (Opladen, 1996: *Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 97).
- 1141 TEUNIS, H.B., "Afspraak, schrift en gezag: Het begin van de verschriftelijking in West Frankrijk (1050-1125)", in: No. 203, pp. 145-154.

13.1 Legislation

- 1142 BLATTMANN, M., "Über die 'Materialität' von Rechtstexten", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 333-354.
- 1143 BLATTMANN, M., *Die Statutenbücher von Bergamo bis 1343: Eine Kommune "erlernt" den Umgang mit geschriebenem Recht* ("Habilitationsschrift" Münster, 1995).
- 1144 BLATTMANN, M., "Rechtssetzung und Rechtsverschriftlichung in den deutschen Städten zur Zeit Friedrichs II.", in: ... *colendo iustitiam et iura condendo ... Federico II legislatore del Regno di Sicilia nell'Europa del Duecento: Per una storia comparata delle codificazioni europee: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Messina-Reggio Calabria 20-24 gennaio 1995)*, ed. A. ROMANO (Messina, 1997), pp. 573-617.
- 1145 BLATTMANN, M., "Aderenza alla realtà, rilevanza pratica e impiego effettivo degli statuti tedeschi e italiani (secoli XII-XIV)", in: *Tradizioni normative cittadine e diritto internazionale nell'Europa dei secoli XII-XIV: Atti del Convegno internazionale (Pisa 12-16 dicembre 1994)*, ed. G. ROSSETTI [in the press].

- 1146 BUSCH, J.W., "Zum Prozess der Verschriftlichung des Rechtes in lombardischen Kommunen des 13. Jahrhunderts", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 373-390.
- 1147 BUSCH, J.W., "Schriftkultur und Recht am Beispiel der Statutencodices", in: No. 1165, pp. 1-14.
- 1148 BUSCH, J.W., "Die Lodeser Statutenfragmente des 13. Jahrhunderts: Zur Entwicklung kommunaler Rechtsaufzeichnungen", in: No. 1165, pp. 25-38.
- 1149 BUSCH, J.W., "Vom einordnenden Sammeln zur argumentierenden Darlegung: Beobachtungen zum Umgang mit Kirchenrechtssätzen im 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 243-256.
- 1150 DILCHER, G., "Oralität, Verschriftlichung und Wandlungen der Normstruktur in den Stadtrechten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts", in: No. 1138, pp. 9-19.
- 1151 KELLER, H., "Oberitalienische Statuten als Zeugen und als Quellen für den Verschriftlichungsprozeß im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), pp. 286-314.
- 1152 KELLER, H., and R. SCHNEIDER, "Rechtsgewohnheit, Satzungsrecht und Kodifikation in der Kommune Mailand vor der Errichtung der Signorie", in: No. 1165, pp. 167-191.
- 1153 KOCH, P., *Die Statutengesetzgebung der Kommune Vercelli im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Kodikologie, Genese und Benutzung der überlieferten Handschriften* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1995: *Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge* 1).
- 1154 KROESCHEL, K., "Rechtsaufzeichnung und Rechtswirklichkeit: Das Beispiel des Sachsenspiegels", in: No. 1202, pp. 349-380.
- 1155 LÜTKE WESTHUES, P., *Die Kommunalstatuten von Verona im 13. Jahrhundert: Formen und Funktionen von Recht und Schrift in einer oberitalienischen Kommune* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1995: *Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge* 2).
- 1156 MIHM, A., "Vom Dingprotokoll zum Zwölftafelgesetz: Verschriftlichungsstufen städtischer Rechtstradition", in: No. 209.
- 1157 MORDEK, H., "Kapitularen und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 1140, pp. 34-66.
- 1158 *Rechtskodifikation und soziale Normen im interkulturellen Vergleich*, ed. H.-J. GEHRKE (Tübingen, 1994: *ScriptOralia* 66).
- 1159 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Rechtswort und Rechtszeichen in der deutschen Dichtung der karolingischen Zeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971), pp. 268-283.
- 1160 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Rechtsbücher als Zeugen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit: Ein Forschungsprojekt im Sonderforschungsbereich 231 der Universität Münster", *Niederdeutsches Wort* 29 (1989), pp. 1-11.
- 1161 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Recht und Gesetz im Spannungsfeld zwischen Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im Mittelalter", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 147-166.

- 1162 SCHMIDT-WIEGAND, R., "Gebrauchssituationen im Spiegel der Mitüberlieferung: Die deutschen Rechtsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in ihren Codices", in: No. 949, pp. 69-86.
- 1163 SCHNEIDER, R., "Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im Bereich der Kapitularien", in: No. 1202, pp. 257-279.
- 1164 SCHWYTER, J.R., "Syntax and style in the Anglo-Saxon law-codes", in: No. 137, pp. 189-231.
- 1165 *Statutencodices des 13. Jahrhunderts als Zeugen pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit: Die Handschriften von Como, Lodi, Novara, Pavia und Voghera*, ed. H. KELLER and J.W. BUSCH (Munich, 1991: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 64).
- 1166 *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. H. MORDEK (Sigmaringen, 1986: *Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter* 4).
- 1167 VOLLRATH, H., "Gesetzgebung und Schriftlichkeit: Das Beispiel der angelsächsischen Gesetze", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 99 (1979), pp. 28-54.

13.2 Charters

- 1168 BEHRMANN, T., "Verschriftlichung als Lernprozess: Urkunden und Statuten in den lombardischen Stadtkommunen", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 111 (1991), pp. 385-402.
- 1169 DIJKHOF, E.C., *Het oorkondenwezen van enige kloosters en steden in Holland en Zeeland, 1200-1325* (Amsterdam, 1997).
- 1170 DILCHER, G., "Oralität, Verschriftlichung und Wandlungen der Normstruktur in den Stadtrechten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts", in: No. 1138, pp. 9-19.
- 1171 EHLE, C., "Verschriftung in den altenglischen Urkunden", in: No. 137, pp. 174-188.
- 1172 FUGEDI, E., "Ai confini tra l'uso orale e l'uso scritto: La pratica della cancelleria in Ungheria", in: *Spiritualità e letterere nella Cultura Italiana e Ungherese del Basso Medioevo*, ed. S. GRACIOTTI and C. VASOLI (Florence, 1975), pp. 377-387.
- 1173 *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. P. RÜCK (Sigmaringen, 1996).
- 1174 HLEDÍKOVÁ, Z., "Diplomatika a dejiny správy pozdňho stredoveku", in: *200 let pomocných ved historických na Filozofické Fakulte Univerzity Karlovy v Praze* (Prague, 1988), pp. 201-226.
- 1175 JOHANEK, P., "Zur rechtlichen Funktion von Traditionsnotiz, Traditionsbuch und früher Siegelurkunde", in: No. 1202, pp. 131-162.
- 1176 JOHANEK, P., "Herrscherdiplom und Empfängerkreis: Die Kanzlei Ludwigs des Frommen in der Schriftlichkeit der Karolingerzeit", in: No. 1140, pp. 167-188.

- 1177 KELLER, H., "Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen: Urkunden als Hoheitszeichen in der Kommunikation des Herrschers mit seinen Getreuen", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 400-441.
- 1178 KOCH, P., "Urkunde, Brief und Öffentliche Rede: Eine diskurstraditionelle Filiation im Medienwechsel", in: No. 1034, pp. 13-44.
- 1179 LOWE, K.A., "Lay literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and the development of the chirograph", in: *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. P. PULSIANO and E.M. TREHARNE (Aldershot, 1998) pp. 161-204.
- 1180 MEZEY, L., "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der Glaubwürdigen Orte", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), pp. 290-302.
- 1181 OZÓG, K., *Intelektualiści w służbie Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1306-1382* (Cracow, 1995).
- 1182 POTKOWSKI, E., "Pragmatyczna piśmienność w średniowiecznym Tyńcu", in: *Benedyktyni tyńceccy w średniowieczu*, ed. K. ŻUROWSKA (Cracow, 1996), pp. 71-91.
- 1183 REIFFENSTEIN, I., "Zur Begründung der Schriftlichkeit in deutschen Urkunden des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Sprache und Recht: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand*, ed. K. HAUCK a.o., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1986), 2, pp. 659-669.
- 1184 SUŁKOWSKA-KURAS, I., *Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów 1370-1444* (Warsaw, 1977).
- 1185 SZCZUR, S., *Traktaty międzypaństwowe Polski piastowskiej* (Cracow, 1990).

13.3 Jurisdiction and Dispute Settlement

- 1186 ALTHOFF, G., "Königsherrschaft und Konfliktbewältigung im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), pp. 265-290.
- 1187 BEHRMANN, T., "Ad maiorem cautelam: Sicherheitsdenken, Zukunftsbewußtsein und schriftliche Fixierung im Rechtsleben der italienischen Kommunen", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 72 (1992), pp. 26-53.
- 1188 BEHRMANN, T., "Von der Sentenz zur Akte: Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung des Prozeßschriftgutes in Mailand", in: No. 1222, pp. 71-90.
- 1189 BELLOMO, M., "Der Text erklärt den Text: Über die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Jurisprudenz", in: No. 949, pp. 61-68.
- 1190 BREIDENBACH, S., *Mediation: Struktur, Chancen und Risiken von Vermittlung im Konflikt* (Cologne, 1995).
- 1191 BULLOUGH, D., *Friends, Neighbours and Fellow-Drinkers: Aspects of Community and Conflict in the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1991: H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 1).
- 1192 CLANCHY, M.T., "Medieval English law as an agent of literacy and uniformity", *Journal of Legal History* 5 (1984), pp. 173-177.

- 1193 COLLINS, R., "The rôle of writing in the resolution and recording of disputes", in: No. 1206, pp. 207-214.
- 1194 DANET, B., and B. BOGOCH, "Orality, literacy, and performativity in Anglo-Saxon wills", in: *Language and the Law*, ed. J. Gibbons (London, 1994: *Language in Social Life*), pp. 100-135.
- 1195 *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. J. BOSSY (Cambridge, 1983).
- 1196 GEARY, P.J., "Vivre en conflit dans une France sans état: Typologie de mécanismes de règlement des conflits (1050-1200)", *Annales E.S.C.* 41 (1986), pp. 1107-1133.
- 1197 HEIDECKER, K., "Communication by written texts in court cases: Some charter evidence (ca. 800-ca. 1100)", in this volume, pp. 99-124.
- 1198 HILDBRAND, T., "Quellenkritik in der Zeitdimension—Vom Umgang mit Schriftgut: Anmerkungen zur theoretischen Grundlegung einer Analyse von prozeßhaft bedeutungsvollem Schriftgut mit zwei Beispielen aus der mittelalterlichen Ostschweiz", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp. 349-389.
- 1199 KOCH, P., "Rechtskonflikte der Kommune Vercelli: Zur Entstehung und zum Einsatz von Prozeßschriftgut", in: No. 1222, pp. 91-116.
- 1200 MILLER, W.I., *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago, 1990).
- 1201 POHL, W., "Konfliktverlauf und Konfliktbewältigung: Römer und Barbaren im frühen Mittelalter", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), pp. 165-207.
- 1202 *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. P. CLASSEN (Sigmaringen, 1977: *Vorträge und Forschungen* 23).
- 1203 REYNOLDS, S., "Magna Charta 1297 and the legal use of literacy", *Hispanic Review* 62 (1989), pp. 233-244.
- 1204 ROBERTS, S., *Order and Dispute: An Introduction to Legal Anthropology* (New York, 1979).
- 1205 SCHENCK, M.J., "Orality, literacy and the law; judicial scenes in the *fabliau*", *Reinardus* 8 (1995), pp. 63-75 .
- 1206 *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. DAVIES and P. FOURACRE (Cambridge, 1986).
- 1207 SLUSHER, J.L., "Runic wisdom in Njal's Saga and nordic mythology: Roots of an oral legal tradition in Northern Europe", *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature* 3 (1991), pp. 21-39.
- 1208 VOLLRATH, H., "Konfliktwahrnehmung und Konfliktdarstellung in erzählenden Quellen des 11. Jahrhunderts", in: *Die Salier und das Reich*, ed. S. WEINFURTER, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1991), 3, pp. 279-296.
- 1209 VOLLRATH, H., "Rechtstexte in der oralen Rechtskultur des frühen Mittelalters", *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, ed. M. BORGOLTE (Munich, 1995: *Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte*, NS 20), pp. 319-348.

- 1210 WEITZEL, J., "Gewohnheitsrecht und fränkisch-deutsches Gerichtsverfahren", in: *Gewohnheitsrecht und Rechtsgewohnheiten im Mittelalter*, ed. G. DILCHER (Berlin, 1992: *Schriften zur europäischen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* 6), pp. 67-86.
- 1211 WEITZEL, J., "Schriftlichkeit und Recht", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 610-619.
- 1212 WHITE, S.D., "'Pactum ... legem vincit et amor iudicium': The settlement of disputes by compromise in eleventh-century Western France", *The American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978), pp. 281-308.

13.4 Government

- 1213 BECKER, C., "Beiträge zur kommunalen Buchführung und Rechnungslegung", in: No. 1222, pp. 117-148.
- 1214 BECKER, C., *Die Kommune Chiavenna im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: Politisch-administrative Entwicklung und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in einer lombardischen Landgemeinde* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1995: *Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge* 3).
- 1215 BLATTMANN, M., "Wahlen und Schrifteinsatz in Bergamo im 13. Jahrhundert", in: No. 1222, pp. 217-264.
- 1216 GROTEN, M., "Civic record keeping in Cologne 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 81-88.
- 1217 FISHER, J.H., "Chancery and the emergence of standard written English in the fifteenth century", *Speculum* 52 (1977), pp. 870-899.
- 1218 GANSHOF, F.L., *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (Ithaca, 1971).
- 1219 KELLER, H., "Vorschrift, Mitschrift, Nachschrift: Instrumente des Willens zu vernunftgemäßem Handeln und guter Regierung in den italienischen Kommunen des Duecento", in: No. 209.
- 1220 KEYNES, S., "Royal government and the written word in late Anglo-Saxon England", in: No. 231, pp. 226-257.
- 1221 KOCH, P., "Kommunale Bücher in Italien und die Anfänge ihrer Archivierung", in: No. 949, pp. 87-100.
- 1222 *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien*, ed. H. KELLER and T. BEHRMANN (Munich, 1995: *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* 68).
- 1223 MARTIN, G., "English town records, 1250-1350", in: No. 1137, pp. 119-130.
- 1224 MERSIOWSKY, M., "Regierungspraxis und Schriftlichkeit im Karolingerreich: Das Fallbeispiel der Mandate und Briefe", in: No. 1140, pp. 109-166.
- 1225 NELSON, J.L., "Literacy in Carolingian government", in: No. 231, pp. 258-296.
- 1226 NOBLE, T.F.X., "Literacy and the papal government in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages", in: No. 231, pp. 82-108.
- 1227 NORTH, M., "The records of Lübeck and Hamburg, c. 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 89-93.

- 1228 OIKONOMIDES, N., "Byzantine archives of the Palaiologan period, 1258-1453", in: No. 1137, pp. 189-197.
- 1229 POTKOWSKI, E., "Schrift und Politik im 15. Jahrhundert: Die Anfänge politischer Publizistik in Polen", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 355-373.
- 1230 PRESTWICH, M., "English government records, 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 95-106.
- 1231 RICHARDSON, H.G., and G.O. SAYLES, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Charta* (Edinburgh, 1963).
- 1232 RIU, M., "Sources in local town archives for the legal, social and economic history of Catalonia, c. 1220-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 43-49.
- 1233 SIVÉRY, G., "Non-literary sources in the B series of the archives of the Department of Lille for the period 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 73-79.
- 1234 SWANSON, R., "*Universis Christi fidelibus*: the Church and its records", in: No. 1137, pp. 147-164.
- 1235 WEIGL, H., "Schriftlichkeit in einer spätmittelalterlichen Kleinstadt: Verlorene Quellen und des Kleinstadt-Historikers Not", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte* 100 (1992), pp. 254-267.
- 1236 WILD, J., "Schriftlichkeit in der Verwaltung am Beispiel der Lehenbücher in Bayern", in: No. 209.
- 1237 WOOD, I., "Administration, law and culture in Merovingian Gaul", in: No. 231, pp. 63-81.

13.5 Management

- 1238 BUSCH, J.W., "Oberitalienische Diözesan- und Contadoverzeichnisse: Beobachtungen zur schriftlichen Erfassung von Verwaltungsstrukturen im 13. Jahrhundert", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), pp. 368-388.
- 1239 HARVEY, P.D.A., "English estate records, 1250-1330", in: No. 1137, pp. 107-118.
- 1240 KUCHENBUCH, L., *Ein Einführungskurs in die Ältere Geschichte: Kurseinheit 2: Schriftlichkeitsgeschichte als methodischer Zugang: Das Prüm Urbar von 893-1983* (Hagen, 1987).
- 1241 KUCHENBUCH, L., "Verrechtlichung der Erinnerung im Medium der Schrift (9. Jahrhundert)", in: No. 613, pp. 36-47.
- 1242 KUCHENBUCH, L., "Teilen, Aufzählen, Summieren: Zum Verfahren in ausgewählten Güter- und Einkünfteverzeichnissen des 9. Jahrhunderts", in: No. 230, pp. 181-206.
- 1243 STRATMANN, M., "Schriftlichkeit in der Verwaltung von Bistümern und Klöstern", in: No. 1140, pp. 85-108.
- 1244 STRATMANN, M., "Schriftlichkeit in der Verwaltung von Bistümern und Klöstern zur Zeit Karls des Großen", in: *Karl der Große und sein Nachwirken: 1200*

Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa—Charlemagne and his Heritage: 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe, 1, ed. P. BUTZER, M. KERNER, and W. OBERSCHELF (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 251-276.

13.6 Trade

- 1245 ARLINGHAUS, F.-J., *Von der Notiz zur Bilanz: Zur Eigendynamik des Schriftgebrauchs in der kaufmännischen Buchführung am Beispiel der Datini/di Berto-Handelsgesellschaft in Avignon (1367-1373)* (diss. Münster, 1996).
- 1246 ARLINGHAUS, F.-J., "Der Kaufmann und sein Rechnungsbuch: Eigendynamische Prozesse beim Umgang mit dem Medium 'Schrift' im Mittelalter", *Forschungs-journal Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster* 6 (1997), pp. 16-18.
- 1247 HACKI BUHOFFER, A., "Schriftlichkeit im Handel", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 619-628.

14. Literature

- 1248 ASSMANN, A., *Die Legitimität der Fiktion: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Kommunikation* (Munich, 1980: *Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der schönen Künste* 55).
- 1249 AUERBACH, E., *Literary Language and Its Public in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965).
- 1250 BACH, U., "Oral rhetoric in writings for a mixed literate and illiterate audience", *Poetics* 18 (1989), pp. 257-270.
- 1251 BAUML, F.H., "Mimesis as model: Medieval media-change and canonical reality", in: *Mimesis: Studien zur literarischen Repräsentation—Studies on Literary Representation*, ed. B.F. SCHOLZ (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 77-86.
- 1252 BRUNS, G.L., "The originality of texts in a manuscript culture", *Comparative Literature* 32 (1980), pp. 113-129.
- 1253 CHADWICK, H.M., and N.K. CHADWICK, *The Growth of Literature*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1932-1940).
- 1254 CHANDÈS, G., "Adaptation médiévale et modèles de communication: L'exemple du roman d'antiquité", in: *Traduction, transposition, adaptation au Moyen Âge: Actes des colloques du Centre d'Études Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille III* (Lille, 1996), pp. 25-37.
- 1255 DELBOUILLE, M., "Les Chansons de geste et le livre", in: *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste (Actes du Colloque de Liège, Septembre 1957)* (Paris, 1959), pp. 295-407.
- 1256 ERNST, U., "Formen der Schriftlichkeit im höfischen Roman des hohen und späten Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), pp. 252-369.

- 1257 FARAL, E., "Les conditions générales de la production littéraire en Europe occidentale pendant les IX^e et X^e siècles", in: *I problemi dell'Europa Post-Carolingia* (Spoleto, 1955: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 2), pp. 247-294.
- 1258 GOLDBERG, H., "Romance folklore, literature, and cultural identity", *Romance Philology* 38 (1984-1985), pp. 41-53.
- 1259 GREEN, D.H., "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in höfischen Romanen des 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Liebe und Aventure im Artusroman des Mittelalters: Beiträge der Triester Tagung 1988*, ed. P. SCHULZE-BELLI and M. DALLAPIAZZA (Göppingen, 1990: *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 532), pp. 67-82.
- 1260 *De Gustibus: Essays for Alain Renoir*, ed. J.M. FOLEY, J.C. WOMACK and W.A. WOMACK (New York, 1992: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1482 = *The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition* 11).
- 1261 HAUG, W., "Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit und Fiktionalität", in: *Modernes Mittelalter: Neu Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. J. HEINZLE (Frankfurt a.M., 1994), pp. 376-397.
- 1262 HUPPER, D., "Buch und schrift: Gattungen und Textsorten in frühmittelalterlichen volkssprachigen Schriftzeugnissen: Zur Ausbildung einer Begrifflichkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), pp. 93-122.
- 1263 PARKS, W., "The textualization of orality in literary criticism", in: No. 213, pp. 46-61.
- 1264 REICHL, K., "The literate fallacy: Interpreting medieval popular narrative poetry", in: *Interpretation: Medieval and Modern: The A.J.W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, Eighth Series, Perugia, 1992*, ed. P. BOITANI and A. TORTI (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 67-90.
- 1265 SELIG, M., "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Bereich der trobadoresken Lieddichtung", in: No. 109.
- 1266 SIMONSEN, M., *Le conte populaire* (Paris, 1984).
- 1267 STOCK, B., "Literary discourse and the social historian", *New Literary History* 8 (1977), pp. 183-194.
- 1268 STORP, U., *Väter und Söhne: Tradition und Traditionsbruch in der volkssprachlichen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Essen, 1994: *Item mediävistische Studien* 2).
- 1269 *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*, ed. G. VOGT-SPIRA (Tübingen, 1990: *ScriptOralia* 19).
- 1270 TAYLOR, A., "Fragmentation, corruption and minstrel narration: the question of the Middle English romances", *Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992), pp. 38-62.
- 1271 TRISTRAM, H.L.C., *Medialität und mittelalterliche insulare Literatur* (Tübingen, 1992: *ScriptOralia* 43).
- 1272 *Der Ursprung von Literatur: Medien, Rollen, Kommunikationssituationen zwischen 1450 und 1650*, ed. G. SMOLKA-KOERDT a.o. (Munich, 1988).

- 1273 VESSEY, M., "Literacy and Litteratura, A.D. 200-800", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 13 (1992), pp. 139-160.
- 1274 *Volksdichtung zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. L. RÖHRICH and E. LINDIG (Tübingen, 1989: *ScriptOralia* 9).
- 1275 WESTRA, H., "Literacy, orality and medieval patronage: a phenomenological outline", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), pp. 52-59.
- 1276 ZUMTHOR, P., "Document et monument", *Revue des sciences humaines* 25 (1960), pp. 5-19.
- 1277 ZUMTHOR, P., *La lettre et la voix: De la littérature médiévale* (Paris, 1987).

14.1 "Oral" Literature

- 1278 *The Ballad and Oral Literature*, ed. J. HARRIS (Cambridge, 1991: *Harvard English Studies* 17), pp. 139-70.
- 1279 BYNUM, D.E., *The Daemon in the Wood: A Study of Oral Narrative Patterns* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).
- 1280 CURSCHMANN, M., "Oral poetry in medieval English, French, and German literature: Some notes on recent research", *Speculum* 42 (1967), pp. 36-52.
- 1281 DE VRIES, J., *Heldenlied en heldensage* (Utrecht and Antwerpen, 1959).
- 1282 FINNEGAN, R., *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge, 1977).
- 1283 FOLEY, J.M., "Introduction", in: No. 1297, pp. 1-18.
- 1284 FOLEY, J.M., "Selected bibliography", in: No. 1297, pp. 170-181.
- 1285 FOLEY, J.M., "Toward an oral aesthetics: A response to Jesse Gellrich", *Philological Quarterly* 67 (1988), pp. 475-480 [cf. No. 233].
- 1286 FOLEY, J.M., "Orality, textuality, and interpretation", in: No. 213, pp. 34-45.
- 1287 HAYMES, E.R., "Oral poetry and the Germanic *Heldenlied*", *Rice University Studies* 62 (1976), pp. 47-54.
- 1288 HOFFMANN, D., "Vers und Prosa in der mündlich gepflegten mittelalterlichen Erzählkunst der germanischen Länder", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971), pp. 135-175.
- 1289 KELLOGG, R., "Oral literature", *New Literary History* 5 (1973-1974), pp. 55-66.
- 1290 KELLOGG, R.L., "Literary aesthetics in oral art", *Oral Tradition* 6 (1991), pp. 137-140.
- 1291 LINDAHL, C., "The oral undertones of late medieval romance", in: No. 669, pp. 59-75.
- 1292 LÖNNROTH, L., "The double scene of Arrow-Odd's drinking-contest", in: *Medieval Narrative*, ed. H. BEKKER-NIELSEN (Odense, 1979), pp. 94-119.
- 1293 MESCHONNIC, H., "Littérature et oralité, présence francophone", *Revue Littéraire* 31 (1987), pp. 9-28.

- 1294 MILETICH, J.S., "Oral aesthetics and written aesthetics: The South Slavic case and the Poema de Mio Cid", in: *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan D. Deyermond*, ed. J.S. MILETICH (Madison, Wisc., 1986), pp. 183-204.
- 1295 MILETICH, J.S., "The tradition of Croatian 'folk' poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries collected in Gradisce (Burgenland): Notes for the comparative study of literature", in: No. 1368, pp. 496-521.
- 1296 *Oral Poetry: Das Problem der Mündlichkeit mittelalterlicher epischer Dichtung*, ed. N. VOORWINDEN and M. DE HAAN (Darmstadt, 1979: *Wege der Forschung* 555).
- 1297 *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*, ed. J.M. FOLEY (New York, 1986)
- 1298 PARKS, W., "Orality and poetics: Synchrony, diachrony, and the areas of narrative transmission", in: No. 686, pp. 511-532.
- 1299 PAVLOVIC, M.N., "Oralist vision and neo-traditionalist revision: A review article", *The Modern Language Review* 86 (1991), pp. 867-884.
- 1300 PAYEN, J.C., "A la recherche d'un 'folklorisme médiéval' ", in: *Les Romans de la Table Ronde* (Condé-sur-Noireau, 1987), pp. 39-42.
- 1301 RAFFEL, B., "The manner of Boyan: Translating oral literature", *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), pp. 11-29.
- 1302 REICHL, K., "The Middle English popular romance: Minstrel versus hack writer", in: No. 1278, pp. 243-268.
- 1303 SÁNCHEZ ROMERALO, A., a.o., *Bibliografía del romancero oral* (Madrid, 1980: *Romancero y poesía oral* 5).
- 1304 SAYERS, W., "Serial defamation in two medieval tales: The Icelandic Olkofra Thattr and the Irish Scela Mucce Meic Dathó", *Oral Tradition* 6 (1991), pp. 35-57.
- 1305 STITT, J.M., *Beowulf and the Bear's Son: Epic, Saga, and Fairytale in Northern Germanic Tradition* (New York, 1992: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1402 = *The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition* 8).
- 1306 [omitted]
- 1307 WOLFART, C., "Empirische Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Prosa-Überlieferung", in: *Erzählforschung: Ein Symposium*, ed. E. LAMMERT (Stuttgart, 1982: *Germanistische Symposien: Berichtsbände* 4), pp. 74-97.
- 1308 ZUMTHOR, P., "Poétique médiévale et poétique d'oralité", *Cahiers Roumains d'études littéraires* 3 (1981), pp. 4-11.
- 1309 ZUMTHOR, P., "Le discours de la poésie orale", *Poétique* 13 (1982), pp. 387-401.
- 1310 ZUMTHOR, P., *Introduction à la poésie orale* (Paris, 1983).
- 1311 ZUMTHOR, P., *La poésie et la voix dans la civilisation médiévale* (Paris, 1984: *Essais et Conférences du Collège de France*).

14.1.1 Epic

- 1312 ACKER, P., *Revising Oral Theory: Formulaic Composition in Old English and Old Icelandic Verse* (New York, 1998: *Garland Studies in Medieval Literature* 16).
- 1313 BAUML, F.H., "The unmaking of the hero: Some critical implications of the transition from oral to written epic", in: *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. H. SCHOLLER (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 86-99.
- 1314 BAUML, F., "The theory of oral-formulaic composition and the written medieval text", in: No. 1331, pp. 29-45.
- 1315 BONJOUR, A., "Neuere Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Heldendichtung", tr. in: No. 1296, pp. 79-98.
- 1316 FOLEY, J.M., *Traditional Oral Epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf, and the Serbo-Croatian Return Song* (Berkeley, 1990).
- 1317 HAYMES, E.R., *Das mündliche Epos: Eine Einführung in die 'Oral Poetry' Forschung* (Stuttgart, 1977).
- 1318 *Heldensage und Heldendichtung im Germanischen*, ed. H. BECK (Berlin, 1988).
- 1319 KUHN, H., "Heldensage vor und ausserhalb der Dichtung", in: *Edda, Skalden, Saga: Festschrift Felix Genzmer* (Heidelberg, 1952), pp. 262-278.
- 1320 LORD, A.B., "Beowulf and the Russian Byliny", in: No. 1260, pp. 304-323.
- 1321 MILETICH, J.S., "Muslim oral epic and medieval epic", *Modern Languages Review* 83 (1988), pp. 911-924.
- 1322 OLSEN, A.H., "Formulaic tradition and the Latin Waltharius", in: *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period: Studies in Honor of Jess B. Bessinger, jr.* ed. H. DAMICO and J. LEYERLE (Kalamazoo, 1993: *Studies in Medieval Culture* 32), pp. 265-82.
- 1323 PARKS, W., "The traditional narrator in Beowulf and Homer", in: No. 1260, pp. 456-479.
- 1324 SOETEMAN, C., "Ritterroman und Gesellschaft: Versuch über die Soziologie der höfischen Epik", in: No. 1296, pp. 271-291.
- 1325 *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry, 1: The Traditions*, ed. A.T. HATTO (London, 1980).
- 1326 VANDEN BERG, E., a.o., "Middle Dutch Charlemagne Romances and the oral tradition of the 'Chansons de geste' ", in: *Medieval Dutch Literature in Its European Context*, ed. E. KOOPER (Cambridge, 1994: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 21), pp. 81-95.
- 1327 VON SEE, K., *Germanische Heldensage: Stoffe, Probleme, Methoden: Eine Einführung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1971).
- 1328 WOLF, A., *Heldensage und Epos: Zur Konstituierung einer mittelalterlichen Gattung im Spannungsfeld von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit* (Tübingen, 1995: *ScriptOralia* 68).

14.2 The Composition of Oral Literature

- 1329 BÄUML, F.H., "Medieval texts and the two theories of oral-formulaic composition: A proposal for a third theory", in: No. 670, pp. 31-49.
- 1330 FOLEY, J.M., *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York and London, 1985: *Garland Folklore Bibliographies* 6).
- 1331 FOLEY, J.M., *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988).
- 1332 FROMM, H., "Kalevala and Niebelungenlied: The problem of oral and written composition", in: *Religion, Myth and Folklore in the World's Epics: The "Kalevala" and its Predecessors*, ed. L. HONKO (Berlin, 1990: *Religion and Society* 30), pp. 93-114.
- 1333 HARRIS, J., "Eddic poetry as oral poetry: the evidence of parallel passages in the Helgi poems for questions of composition and performance", in: *Edda: A Collection of Essays*, ed. R.J. GLENDINNING and H. BESSASON (Winnipeg, 1983: *Manitoba Icelandic Studies* 4), pp. 210-242.
- 1334 ISAACSON, L.H., "Formula fluency in the traditional ballad", *Arv: Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore* 41 (1985), pp. 123-131.
- 1335 LORD, A., "Perspectives on recent work on the oral traditional formula", *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), pp. 467-503.
- 1336 LORD, A.B., "Ring composition in Maldon: Or, a possible case of chiasmus in a late Anglo-Saxon poem", in: No. 1278, pp. 233-242.
- 1337 LORD, A.B., "Oral composition and 'oral residue' in the Middle Ages", in: No. 669, pp. 7-29.
- 1338 *Oral-Formulaic Theory: A Folklore Casebook*, ed. J.M. FOLEY (New York and London, 1990).
- 1339 PITTS, B.A., "In praise of Tristan: oral composition and epic technique and Béroul's *Roman de Tristan*", *Romance Philology* 46 (1992), pp. 1-12.
- 1340 RENOIR, A., "Oral-formulaic rhetoric and the interpretation of written texts", in: No. 1297, pp. 103-135.
- 1341 RENOIR, A., "Oral-formulaic tradition and the affective interpretation of early Germanic verse", in: *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. D.G. CALDER and T.C. CHRISTY (Wolfboro, N.H., and Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 113-126.
- 1342 RIEGER, D., "'Chantar' und 'faire': Zum Problem der trobadoresken Improvisation", *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 106 (1990), pp. 423-435.

14.3 Performance

- 1343 "Aufführung" und "Schrift" in *Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. J.-D. MÜLLER (Stuttgart, 1996: *Germanistische Symposien: Berichtsbände* 17).
- 1344 BAKKER, E.J., "Activation and preservation: The interdependence of text and performance in an oral tradition", *Oral Tradition* 8 (1993), pp. 5-20.
- 1345 BAUML, F.H., "Autorität und Performanz: Gesehene Leser, gehörte Bilder, geschriebener Text", in: No. 137.
- 1346 BUCHHOLZ, P., "'Fornaldarsaga' und mündliches Erzählen zur Wikingerzeit", in: *Les Vikings et leur civilisation: Problèmes actuels*, ed. R. BOYER (Paris and The Hague, 1976), pp. 133-178.
- 1347 DUGGAN, J.J., "Oral performance of Romance in medieval France", in: *Continuations: Essays on Medieval French Literature and Language in Honor of John L. Grigsby*, ed. N.J. LACY and R.G. TORRINI (Birmingham, Alab., 1989), pp. 55-61.
- 1348 DUGGAN, J.J., "Performance and transmission, aural and ocular reception in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century vernacular literature of France", *Romance Philology* 43 (1989), pp. 49-58.
- 1349 FOLEY, J.M., *The Singer of Tales in Performance: Voices in Performance and Text* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995).
- 1350 FOLEY, J.M., "The poet's self-interruption in *Andreas*", in: *Prosody and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of C.B. Hieatt*, ed. H.J. TOSWELL (Toronto, 1996), pp. 42-59.
- 1351 GERRITSEN, W.P., "A medieval text and its oral delivery", in: No. 71, pp. 73-81.
- 1352 KARHOF, G., *Der Abschnitt als Vortragsform in den Handschriften frühmittelhochdeutscher Dichtung* (Münster, 1967).
- 1353 JAMMERS, E., "Der musikalische Vortrag des altdeutschen Epos", in: No. 1296, pp. 127-149.
- 1354 KLEINER, Y.A., "The singer and the interpreter: Caedmon and Bede", *Germanic Notes* 9 (1988), pp. 2-6.
- 1355 LORD, A., *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960; New York, 1978²).
- 1356 MAGOUN jr., F.P., "Bedas Bericht über Caedmon: Die Fallstudie eines angelsächsischen Sängers", tr. in: No. 1296, pp. 46-70.
- 1357 MONROE, J.T., "The tune or the words? (Singing Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry)", *Al-Qantara* 8 (1987), pp. 331-346.
- 1358 NOOMEN, W., "Performance et mouvance: A propos de l'oralité des fabliaux", *Reinardus* 3 (1990), pp. 127-142.
- 1359 *Oral Culture and Oral Performances = New Literary History* 8 (1977).
- 1360 SCHEUB, H., "Body and image in oral narrative performance", in: No. 1359, pp. 345-367.
- 1361 SLYOMOVICS, S., "Performing a Thousand and One Nights in Egypt", *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994), pp. 390-419.

- 1362 VAN DER VEEN, J., "Die musikalischen Aspekte der Chansons de Geste", tr. in: No. 1296, pp. 99-126.
- 1363 *Written Voices, Spoken Signs: Tradition, Performance, and the Epic Text*, ed. E. BAKKER and A. KAHANE (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).
- 1364 ZUMTHOR, P., "L'intertexte performanciel", in: *Texte: Revue de critique et de théorie littéraire* 3 (1983), pp. 49-59.
- 1365 ZUMTHOR, P., "The vocalization of the text: The medieval 'poetic effect' ", *Viator* 19 (1988), pp. 273-282.
- 1366 ZUMTHOR, P., "Körper und Performanz", in: No. 25, pp. 703-713.

14.4 Iberian Literature

- 1367 MONTGOMERY, T., "The 'Poema de Mio Cid': Oral art in transition", in: "*Mio Cid*" *Studies*, ed. A.D. DEYERMOND (London, 1977), pp. 91-112.
- 1368 *Oral Tradition and Hispanic Literature: Essays in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. M.M. CASPI a.o. (New York, 1995).
- 1369 ORDUNA, G., "La coexistencia de cultura oral y produccion literaria: Un nuevo enfoque en el estudio de la literatura espanola medieval", in: *Studia Hispanica Medievalia* 3, ed. R.E. PENNA and M.A. ROSAROSSA (Buenos Aires, 1995), pp. 128-136.
- 1370 PEDROSA, J.M., "El romancillo de El bonetero, Juan de Mena y la tradicion oral", *Revista de Dialectologia y Tradiciones Populares* 47 (1992), pp. 155-177.
- 1371 WEBBER, R.H., "The Cantar de Mio Cid: Problems of interpretation", in: No. 1297, pp. 65-88.

14.5 Italian Literature

- 1372 VITULLO, J., "Orality, literacy, and the prose epic: The case of Andrea da Barberino's *Ugo d'Alvernia*", *The Italianist* 13 (1993), pp. 29-46.

14.6 French Literature

- 1373 BADEL, P.-Y., *Le sauvage et le sot: Le fabliau de Trubert et la tradition orale* (Paris, 1979).
- 1374 BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI, R., "Transgressing boundaries: The oral and the written in Robert de Boron", *Stanford French Review* 14 (1990), pp. 143-160.
- 1375 BRUCKNER, M.T., "Conteur oral/recueil écrit: Marie de France et la cloture des Lais", *Revue de Littératures Française et Comparée* 5 (1995), pp. 5-13.

- 1376 DUFOURNET, J., "Littérature oralisante et subversion: La branche 18 du 'Roman de Renart' ou le partage des proies", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 22 (1979), pp. 321-335.
- 1377 GRAVDAL, K., "Counterfeiting orality: Parody in the French Middle Ages", in: "*Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble*": *Hommage à Jean Dufournet: Littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1993: *Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge* 25), 2, pp. 662-669.
- 1378 GRIGSBY, J.L., "Remnants of Chrétien's aesthetics in the early Perceval continuations and the incipient triumph of writing", *Romance Philology* 41 (1988), pp. 379-393.
- 1379 HUOT, S., *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London, 1987).
- 1380 HUOT, S., "Chronicle, lai and romance: Orality and writing in the *Roman de Perceforest*", in: No. 213, pp. 203-223.
- 1381 KOCH, P., "Pour une typologie conceptuelle et médiale des plus anciens documents/monuments des langues romanes", in: No. 581, pp. 39-82.
- 1382 KRISTOL, A.M., " 'Que dea! Mettes le chapron, paillard, com tu parles a prodrome!' La représentation de l'oralité dans les *Manières de langage* du XIV^e/XV^e siècle", *Romanisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1992), pp. 35-64.
- 1383 NICHOLS, S.G., "Voice and writing in Augustine and in the troubadour lyric", in: No. 213, pp. 137-161.
- 1384 PITTS, B.A., "In praise of Tristan: Oral composition and epic technique and Béroul's *Roman de Tristan*", *Romance Philology* 46 (1992), pp. 1-12.
- 1385 REGALADO, N.F., "Speaking in script: The construction of voice, presence, and perspective in Villon's Testament", in: No. 669, pp. 211-25.
- 1386 SPIEGEL, G.M., "De l'oral à l'écrit: La sémantique sociale de la prose française au XIII^e siècle", in: *Histoire et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, 4 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), 4, pp. 21-28.
- 1387 STUIP, R.E.V., "Het chanson de geste en het boek", in: No. 203, pp. 155-187.
- 1388 VANDEN BOOGAARD, N., "Le caractère oral de la chanson de geste tardive", in: *Langue et littérature françaises du moyen âge: Études*, ed. R.E.V. STUIP (Assen and Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 25-38.
- 1389 VITZ, E.B., "Rethinking Old French literature: The orality of the octosyllabic couplet", *Romantic Review* 77 (1986), pp. 307-321.
- 1390 VITZ, E.B., "Orality, literacy and the early Tristan material: Béroul, Thomas, and Marie de France", *Romantic Review* 78 (1987), pp. 298-310.
- 1391 ZUMTHOR, P., "L'écriture et la voix dans le 'Roman d'Eracle' ", in: *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics*, ed. L.A. ARRATHOON (Rochester, N.Y., 1984), pp. 161-209.

14.7 German Literature

- 1392 BAUML, F.H., and D.J. WARD, "Zur mündlichen Überlieferung des Niebelungenliedes", *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 41 (1967), pp. 351-390.
- 1393 BAUML, F.H., and E. SPIELMANN, "From illiteracy to literacy: Prolegomena to a study of the *Niebelungenlied*", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 10 (1974), pp. 248-259.
- 1394 BAUML, F., "Medienwechsel und Fiktionsgestaltung: *ordo* der Thesaurierung, *statum invenire* und Rezeption der Manessischen Liederhandschrift", in: No. 1034, pp. 95-105.
- 1395 BETTEN, A., "Zur Problematik der Abgrenzung von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit bei mittelalterlichen Texten; Referate der Internationale Fachkonf. Eichstatt 1989", in: *Neuere Forschungen zur historischen Syntax des Deutschen*, ed. A. BETTEN and C.M. RIEHL (Tübingen, 1990: *Reihe Germanistische Linguistik* 103), pp. 324-335.
- 1396 CURSCHMANN, M., "Dichter *alter maere*: Zur Prologstrophe des *Niebelungenliedes* im Spannungsfeld von mündlicher Erzähltradition und laikaler Schriftkultur", in: *Grundlagen des Verstehens mittelalterlicher Literatur: Literarische Texte und ihr historischer Erkenntniswert*, ed. G. HAHN and H. RAGOTZKY (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 55-71.
- 1397 GREEN, D.H., "The aesthetic consequences of literacy: An aspect of the twelfth-century Renaissance in Germany", *Studi umanistici Piceni* 5 (1985), pp. 83-92.
- 1398 GREEN, D., "Oral and written literature in medieval Germany", in: *The Spirit of the Court*, ed. G.S. BURGESS and R.A. TAYLOR (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 5-8.
- 1399 GREEN, D., "Literacy and history in German literature of the Middle Ages", *Res publica litterarum* 10 (1987), pp. 159-167.
- 1400 GREEN, D.H., "Über Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters", in: *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift Karl Stackmann*, ed. L. GRENZMANN, H. HERKOMMER and D. WUTTKE (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 1-20.
- 1401 GREEN, D., "Zur primären Rezeption von Wolframs *Parzival*", in: *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach: Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. K. GARTNER and J. HEINZLE (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 271-288.
- 1402 GREEN, D.H., "Vrume rîtr und guote vrouwen/und wise phaffen: Court literature and its audience", *German Narrative Literature of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Tübingen, 1994), pp. 7-23.
- 1403 HAUBRICH, W., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, 1.1: *Die Anfänge: Versuche volkssprachigen Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1995).
- 1404 HAUG, W., "Schriftlichkeit und Reflexion: Zur Entstehung eines deutschsprachigen Schrifttums im Mittelalter", in: No. 615, pp. 141-157.

- 1405 REICHERT, H., "Autor und Erzähler im *Nibelungenlied*: Seine Mündlichkeit, Schriftlichkeit, Bildung, Trinkgewohnheiten und sonstigen Charakteristika", in: *Helden und Heldensage: Otto Gschwanter zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. REICHERT and G. ZIMMERMANN (Wenen, 1990: *Philologica Germanica* 11), pp. 287-327.
- 1406 SCHOLZ, M.G., "On presentation and reception guidelines in the German strophic epic of the late Middle Ages", in: No. 670, pp. 137-151.
- 1407 SONDEREGGER, S., "Reflexe gesprochener Sprache in der althochdeutschen Literatur", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971), pp. 176-192.

14.8 Dutch Literature

- 1408 VAN DEN BERG, E., "Vorm en inhoud: Ontwikkelingen binnen de ridderepiek ca. 1200-1350", *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 85 (1992), pp. 405-421.

14.9 Old English Literature

- 1409 AMODIO, M.C., "Affective Criticism, Oral Poetics, and Beowulf's Fight with the Dragon", *Oral Tradition* 10 (1995), pp. 54-90.
- 1410 ANDERSSON, T.M., "The speeches in the Waldere Fragments", in: No. 1260, pp. 21-29.
- 1411 BERLIN, G.I., "Memorization in Anglo-Saxon England: Some Case Studies", in: No. 669, pp. 97-113.
- 1412 CHERNISS, M.D., "The oral-traditional opening theme in the poems of Cynewulf", in: No. 1260, pp. 40-65.
- 1413 CLARK, G., "Maldon: History, poetry, and truth", in: No. 1260, pp. 66-84.
- 1414 CREED, R.P., "Beowulf's fourth act", in: No. 1260, pp. 85-109.
- 1415 CREED, R.P., "Sutton Hoo and the recording of Beowulf", in: *Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. C.B. KENDALL, B. CALVIN and P.S. WELLS (Minneapolis, 1992: *Medieval Studies in Minnesota* 5), pp. 65-75.
- 1416 CREED, R.P., "The remaking of Beowulf", in: No. 1297, pp. 136-146.
- 1417 DAVIS, A.B., "Verba volent, scripta manent: Oral tradition and the non-narrative genres of Old English poetry", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 52,6 (1991), p. 2137A.
- 1418 DAVIS, A.B., "Agon and Gnomon: Forms and functions of the Anglo-Saxon riddles", in: No. 1260, pp. 110-50.
- 1419 DESMOND, M., "Beowulf: The monsters and the tradition", *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 258-83.
- 1420 ERZGRÄBER, W., "The beginnings of a written literature in Old English times", in: *The Living Middle Ages: Studies in Mediaeval English Literature and its*

Tradition: A Festschrift for Karl Heinz Goller, ed. U. BOKER, M. MARKUS and R. SCHÖWERLING (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 25-43.

- 1421 FOLEY, J.M., "Oral traditional aesthetics and Old English poetry", in: *Mentalität und mittelalterliche insulare Literatur*, ed. H.L.C. TRISTRAM (Tübingen, 1992: *ScriptOralia* 43), pp. 80-103.
- 1422 FRANK, R., "The search for the Anglo-saxon oral poet", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993), pp. 11-36.
- 1423 GRIFFITH, M.S., "Poetic language and the formula in Old English poetry", in: *Sentences for Alan Ward: Essays Alan Ward*, ed. D.M. REEKS (Southampton, 1988), pp. 155-166.
- 1424 HEINMILLER, M.G., "Orality, literacy, and dialogue: Cultural and stylistic contexts for the Old English 'Solomon and Saturn' ", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 52,2 (1991), p. 547A.
- 1425 JOHN, E., "Beowulf and the margins of literacy", in: *Beowulf: Basic Readings*, ed. and introd. P.S. BAKER, (New York, 1995: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1431), pp. 51-77.
- 1426 KENDALL, C.B., "Literacy and orality in Anglo-Saxon poetry: Horizontal displacement in Andreas", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 95 (1996), pp. 1-18.
- 1427 KNOWLES, J.S., "The impact of Christianity and literacy in early Anglo-Saxon England: Oral resistance in 'Beowulf' ", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 57,7 (1997), p. 3012A.
- 1428 LERER, S., *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Lincoln, Nebr., and London, 1991: *Regents Studies in Medieval Culture*).
- 1429 MAGOUN jr., F.P., "Der formelhaft-mündliche Charakter angelsächsischer epischer Dichtung", tr. in: No. 1296, pp. 11-45.
- 1430 MILLER, M.Y., "Isochrony in Old English poetry: Two performances of Caedmon's Hymn", *Oral Tradition* 8 (1993), pp. 324-54.
- 1431 MORLAND, L., "Caedmon and the Germanic tradition", in: No. 1260, pp. 324-58.
- 1432 NEAR, M.R., "Anticipating alienation: *Beowulf* and the intrusion of literacy", *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 108 (1993), pp. 320-332.
- 1433 NILES, J.D., "Toward an Anglo-Saxon oral poetics", in: No. 1260, pp. 359-377.
- 1434 NILES, J.D., "Locating Beowulf in literary history", *Exemplaria* 5 (1993), pp. 79-109.
- 1435 NILES, J.D., "Understanding *Beowulf*: Oral poetry acts", *Journal of American Folklore* 106 (1993), pp. 131-155.
- 1436 O'BRIEN O'KEEFE, K., *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990: *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 4).
- 1437 O'BRIEN O'KEEFE, K., "Orality and the developing text of Caedmon's Hymn", in: *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M.P. RICHARDS (New York, 1994: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1434 = *Basic Readings in Anglo Saxon England* 2), pp. 221-250.

- 1438 OPLAND, J., *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Tradition* (New Haven, 1980).
- 1439 PARKS, W., "The traditional narrator and the 'I heard' formulas in Old English Poetry", *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), pp. 45-66.
- 1440 PASTERNAK, C.B., "Anonymous polyphony and *The Wanderer's* textuality", *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991), pp. 99-122.
- 1441 RUSSOM, G., "Verse translations and the question of literacy in *Beowulf*", in: No. 686, pp. 567-580.
- 1442 SCHAAR, C., "Zu einer neuen Theorie altenglischer poetischer Diktion", tr. in: No. 1296, pp. 71-78.
- 1443 SCHAEFER, U., "Hearing from books: The rise of fictionality in Old English poetry", in: No. 213, pp. 117-136.
- 1444 SCHAEFER, U., *Vokalität: Altenglische Dichtung zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit* (Tübingen, 1992: *ScriptOralia* 39).
- 1445 SORRELL, P., "Oral poetry and the world of *Beowulf*", *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 28-65.

14.10 Middle English Literature

- 1446 AMODIO, M.C., "Old-English oral-formulaic tradition and Middle-English verse", in: No. 1260, pp. 1-20.
- 1447 AMODIO, M.C., "Introduction: Oral poetics in post-Conquest England", in: No. 1456, pp. 1-13.
- 1448 AMODIO, M.C., "Tradition, modernity, and the emergence of the self in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight", *Assays: Critical Approaches to Medieval and Renaissance Texts* 8 (1995), pp. 47-68.
- 1449 ARNOVICK, L.K., "Dorigen's promise and scholars' premise: The orality of the speech act in the Franklin's Tale", in: No. 1456, pp. 125-147.
- 1450 BANSON, C.D., "The lost honor of Sir Gawain", in: No. 1260, pp. 30-39.
- 1451 BRADBURY, N.M., "The traditional origins of Havelock the Dane", *Studies in Philology* 90 (1993), pp. 115-142.
- 1452 BRADBURY, N.M., "Literacy, orality, and the poetics of Middle English Romance", in: No. 1456, pp. 39-69.
- 1453 FISHER, J.H., "Chaucer and the written language", in: *Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. T.J. HEFFERNAN (Knoxville, Tenn., 1985: *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 28), pp. 237-251.
- 1454 HARWOOD, B.J., "Dame Study and the place of orality in *Piers Plowman*", *Journal of English Literary History* 57 (1990), pp. 1-17.
- 1455 LERER, S., "'Now Holde Youre Mouth': The romance of orality in the Thopas-Melibee section of the *Canterbury Tales*", in: No. 1456, pp. 181-205.

- 1456 *Oral Poetics in Middle English Poetry*, ed. M.C. AMODIO and S. MILLER (New York, 1994: *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities* 1595 = *The Albert Bates Lord Studies in Oral Tradition* 13).
- 1457 PEARSALL, D., "Middle English romance and its audiences", in: *Historical and Editorial Studies ... for Johan Gerritsen*, ed. M.J. ARN a.o. (Groningen, 1985), pp. 37-47.
- 1458 QUINN, W.A., and A.S. HALL, *Jongleur: A Modified Theory of Oral Improvisation and Its Effects on the Performance and Transmission of Middle English Romance* (Washington, 1982).
- 1459 ROSS, R.C., "Oral life, written text: The genesis of *The Book of Margery Kempe*", *Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992), pp. 226-237.
- 1460 SANDERS, B., "Lie it as it plays: Chaucer becomes an author", in: No. 123, pp. 111-128.
- 1461 SCASE, W., "Writing and the plowman: Langland and literacy", *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 9 (1995), pp. 121-139.
- 1462 UHLMAN, D.R., "The comfort of voice, the solace of script: Orality and literacy in *The Book of Margery Kempe*", *Studies in Philology* 91 (1994), pp. 50-69.
- 1463 WITHERS, J.M., *The Minstrel in the Manuscript: Echoes of Orality in Middle English Poetry* (Atlanta, 1992).
- 1464 WOODEN, J.P.J., "The dialectic of orality and literacy in 'Piers Plowman' ", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 57,12 (1997), pp. 5142A-5243A.

14.11 Celtic Literature

- 1465 BRUFORD, A., "Why an Ulster Cycle?", in: *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Tale Cycle*, ed. J.P. MALLORY and G. STOCKMAN (Belfast, 1994), pp. 23-30.
- 1466 CONRAN, T., "The ballad and Taliesin", *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 28 (1994), pp. 1-24.
- 1467 CORNIER, R.J., "Anonymity and oralism in the 'Táin' ", *Studia celtica* 14-15 (1979-1980), pp. 66-73.
- 1468 CORNIER, R.J., "L'épopée irlandaise médiévale, anonyme et orale", in: *VIII Congreso ... Rencesvals*, ed. C. ALVAR and V. CIRLOT (Pamplona, 1981), pp. 87-91.
- 1469 *Early Irish Literature—Media and Communication: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der frühen irischen Literatur*, ed. S.N. TRANTER and H.L.C. TRISTRAM (Tübingen, 1989: *ScriptOralia* 10).
- 1470 EDEL, D., "Die inselkeltische Erzähltradition zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 1469, pp. 99-124.
- 1471 EVANS, D.S., "Oral and dialect in Early Welsh literature", *Language Sciences* 15 (1993), pp. 107-13.

- 1472 KOCH, J.T., "When was Welsh literature first written down?", *Studia celtica* 20-21 (1985-1986), pp. 43-66.
- 1473 LAURENT, D., "Tradition orale et tradition écrite du conte dans les pays celtiques", in: *Le conte de la tradition orale dans le Bassin méditerranéen: Actes des Rencontres de Carcassonne*, ed. J.-P. PINIES (Carcassonne, 1986), pp. 17-33.
- 1474 MACBOIN, G., "Orality and literacy in some Middle Irish king-tales", in: No. 1469, pp. 149-183.
- 1475 MACGEARAILT, U., "Cath Ruis na Rig and twelfth-century literary and oral tradition", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 44 (1991), pp. 128-53.
- 1476 NICHONGAILE, N., and H.L.C. TRISTRAM, "Die mittelirische Sagenlisten zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit", in: No. 305, pp. 249-268.
- 1477 O'HEHIR, B., "Traces of orality in an Irish literary text", in: No. 1260, pp. 378-387.
- 1478 ROBERTS, B.F., "Oral tradition and Welsh literature: A description and survey", *Oral Tradition* 3 (1988), pp. 61-87.
- 1479 TRISTRAM, H.L.C., "Warum Cenn Faelad sein 'Gehirn des Vergessens' verlor-Wort und Schrift in der älteren irischen Literatur", in: No. 305, pp. 207-248.
- 1480 TRISTRAM, H.L.C., "The 'Cattle-Raid of Cuailnge' in tension and transition between the oral and the written, classical subtexts and narrative heritage", in: No. 303, pp. 61-81.
- 1481 VAN STRIEN-GERRITSEN, L., "Orale poëzie in Oudierse rechtsboeken", in: No. 203, pp. 135-143.

14.12 Scandinavian Literature

- 1482 BYOCK, J.L., "Saga form, oral prehistory, and the Icelandic social context", in: No. 670, pp. 153-174.
- 1483 BYOCK, J.L., "Choices of honor: Telling saga feud, Thattr, and the fundamental oral progression", *Oral Tradition* 10 (1995), pp. 166-80.
- 1484 BYOCK, J.L., and G. SIGURDSSON (tr.), "Íslendingasögur og kenningar um formgerd frásagna: Munnleg hefd og boksögur í ljósi samfelagsgerdar", *Timarit* 51 (1990), pp. 21-39.
- 1485 GUREVICH, E.A., "The formulaic pair in Eddic poetry", in: *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature*, ed. J. LINDOW a.o. (Odense, 1986), pp. 32-55.
- 1486 KELLOGG, R.L., "Literacy and orality in the poetic *Edda*", in: No. 213, pp. 89-101.
- 1487 LINDOW, J., "Thaettir and oral performance", in: No. 669, pp. 179-86.
- 1488 LÖNNROTH, L., *Den dubbla scenen: Muntlig diktning fran Edda till Abba* (Stockholm, 1978).

- 1489 MELETINSKY, E.M., "Commonplaces and other elements of folkloric style in Ed-dic poetry", in: *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature*, ed. J. LINDOW a.o. (Odense, 1986), pp. 15-31.
- 1490 MITCHELL, S.A., "The sagaman and oral literature: The Icelandic traditions of Hjórleifr inn kvensami and Geirmundr heljarskinn", in: No. 686, pp. 395-423.
- 1491 OLASON, V., "The marvellous North and authorial presence in the Icelandic Fornaldarsaga", in: *Contexts of Pre-Novel Narrative: The European Tradition*, ed. R. ERIKSEN (Berlin, 1994: *Approaches to Semiotics* 114), pp. 101-134.
- 1492 SÖDERBERG, B., "Saga och bulla: Fornsvenska genrebeteckningar och medeltida skriftmiljöer", *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 109 (1994), pp. 141-172.
- 1493 VON SEE, K., "Skaldenstrophien und Sagaprosa: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der mündlichen Überlieferung in der altnordischen Literatur", *Medieval Scandinavia* 10 (1977), pp. 58-82.
- 1494 VON SEE, K., "Mündliche Prosa und Skaldendichtung: Mit einem Exkurs über Skaldensagas und Trobadorbibliographien", *Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (1978-1979), pp. 82-91.
- 1495 WOLF, A., "Snorris Weg in die Vergangenheit und die Besonderheiten altisländischer Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit", in: *Snorri Sturluson: Kolloquium anlässlich der 750. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, ed. A. WOLF (Tübingen, 1993: *ScriptOralia* 51), pp. 267-293.

14.13 Central and Eastern European Literature

- 1496 MICHAŁOWSKA, T., "Między słowem mówionym a pisanym (O poezji polskiej późnego średniowiecza)", in: *Literatura i kultura późnego średniowiecza w Polsce*, ed. T. MICHAŁOWSKA (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 83-124.

14.14 Arab and Middle Eastern Literatures

- 1497 KRUK, R., "De geschiedenis van koning 'Umar An-Nu'mân: Over Arabische ridderromans", in: No. 203, pp. 171-187.
- 1498 KUDELIN, A.B., "Tradition orale et tradition écrite dans la poésie arabe du VI^e au IX^e siècle", in: *Proceedings of the XIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association/Actes du XI^e congrès de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée: München 1988*, 4: *Space and Boundaries of Literature/Espace et frontières de la littérature*, ed. R. BAUER a.o. (Munich, 1990), pp. 430-435.
- 1499 MAHÉ, J.-P., "Échos mythologiques et poésie orale dans l'oeuvre de Grigor Narekaci", *Revue des études arméniennes* 17 (1983), pp. 249-278.

- 1500 MOLAU, P.D., "The Arabian Nights: The oral connection", *Edebiyât* 2 (1988), pp. 191-204.
- 1501 OTTEN, R.Th., "Verschijnselen van oraliteit en schriftelijkheid in de Berbercultuur", in: No. 203, pp. 33-61.
- 1502 STETKEVYCH, S.P., "The generous eye/I and the poetics of redemption: An elegy by al-Fari'ah b. Shaddad al-Murriyah", in: *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. M. MUSTANSIR (Princeton, 1993), pp. 85-105.

15. Religion and Writing

- 1503 EISERMANN, F., "Medienwechsel-Medienwandel: Geistliche Texte auf Einblatt-drucken und anderen Überlieferungsträgern des 15. Jahrhunderts", in: *Das illustrierte Flugblatt 1450-1750 in kombinierten Perspektiven mehrerer Fachgebiete*, ed. M. SCHILLING and W. HARMS [in the press].
- 1504 GRAHAM, W.A., *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987).
- 1505 *Le Livre religieux et ses pratiques: Études sur l'histoire du livre religieux en Allemagne et en France à l'époque moderne*, ed. H.E. BÓDEKER a.o. (Göttingen, 1991).
- 1506 STINE, P.C., "Writing and Religion", in: No. 132, 1, pp. 604-610.

15.1 Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

- 1507 ADAMSKA, A., "Dieu, le Christ, la Vierge et l'Église dans les préambules polonais du Moyen Âge", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 155 (1997), pp. 543-573.
- 1508 ANGENENDT, A., a.o., "Gezählte Frömmigkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp. 1-71.
- 1509 ASTON, M., "Lollardy and literacy", *History* 62 (1977), pp. 347-371.
- 1510 BILLER, P., "The oral and the written: The case of the Alpine Waldensians", *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 4 (1986), pp. 19-28.
- 1511 BORKOWSKA, U., *Królewskie modlitewniki* (Lublin, 1988).
- 1512 CAREY, H.M., "Devout literate laypeople and the pursuit of the mixed life in later medieval England", *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1987), pp. 361-381.
- 1513 CAVALLO, G., "Scrivere leggere memorizzare le sacre scritture", in: *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1998: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 45), pp. 987-1013.

- 1514 *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. P. BILLER and A. HUDSON (Cambridge, 1994: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 23).
- 1515 HUDSON, A., *Lollards and their Books* (London, 1985).
- 1516 MCSHEFFREY, S., "Literacy and the gender gap in the late Middle Ages: Women and reading in Lollard communities", in: No. 1126, pp. 157-170.
- 1517 ONG, W.J., "The psychodynamics of oral memory and narrative: Some implications for biblical studies", in: *The Pedagogy of God's Image: Essays on Symbol and the Religious Imagination*, ed. R. MASSON (Chico, Cal., 1982), pp. 55-73.
- 1518 *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. J.-F. GILMONT, tr. K. MAAG (Aldershot, 1998: *St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History*).
- 1519 RITARD, D.G., "A new language of authority: The growth of vernacular religious literacy in England during the later Middle Ages", *Dissertation Abstracts International* 58,4 (1997), pp. 1273A-1274A.
- 1520 SCHARFF, T., *Häretikerverfolgung und Schriftlichkeit: Die Wirkung der Ketzer-gesetze auf die oberitalienischen Kommunalstatuten im 13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1996: *Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift: Mediävistische Beiträge* 4).
- 1521 SCHARFF, T., and T. LENTES, "Schriftlichkeit und Disziplinierung: Die Beispiele Inquisition und Frömmigkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997), pp. 233-251.
- 1522 SCHREINER, K., "Marienverehrung, Lesekultur, Schriftlichkeit: Bildungs- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Studien zur Auslegung und Darstellung von 'Mariä Verkündigung' ", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990), pp. 314-368.
- 1523 STAUBACH, N., "Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Bereich der *Devotio moderna*", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 418-461.
- 1524 VAN ENGEL, J., "Managing the common life: The brothers at Deventer and the codex of the household (The Hague. MS KB 70 H 75)", in: No. 209.
- 1525 VEIT, P., "Piété, chant et lecture: les pratiques religieuses dans l'Allemagne protestante à l'époque moderne", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 37 (1990), pp. 624-641.
- 1526 WENZEL, S., *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1994).
- 1527 WORSTBROCK, F.-J., "Libri pauperum: Zur Entstehung, Struktur und Gebrauch einiger mittelalterlicher Buchformen der Wissensliteratur seit dem 12. Jahrhundert", in: No. 949, pp. 41-66.

15.2 Hagiography

- 1528 ABOU-EL-HAJ, B., "The audiences for the medieval cult of saints", *Gesta* 30 (1991), pp. 3-15.

- 1529 BRONZINI, G.B., "Hagiographie de cour et hagiographie de peuple", in: *D'un conte ...-à l'autre: la variabilité dans la littérature orale/From One Tale ... to the Other: Variability in Oral Literature*, ed. K.V. GOROG and M. CHICHE (Paris, 1990), pp. 261-273.
- 1530 BUTLER, F., "The Representation of oral culture in the Vita Constantini", *Slavic and East European Journal* 39 (1995), pp. 367-84.
- 1531 COSMOS, S., "Oral tradition and literary convention in Bede's Life of St. Aidan", *Classical Folia* 31 (1977), pp. 47-63.
- 1532 DE NIE, G., "Text, symbol and 'oral culture' in the sixth-century Church: the miracle story", *Mediaevistik* 9 (1996), pp. 115-133.
- 1533 DESPODOVA, V., and M. MITREVSKA (tr.), "On the level of a religious cult", *Macedonian Review: History, Culture, Literature, Arts* 21 (1991), pp. 16-19.
- 1534 ELLIOTT, A.G., "The 'Triumphus Sancti Remacii': Latin evidence for oral composition", *Romance Philology* 32 (1978-1979), pp. 292-298.
- 1535 ELLIOTT, A.G., "The 'Vie de Saint Alexis': Oral 'versus' written style", in: *VIII Congreso ... Rencesvals*, ed. C. ALVAR and V. CIRLOT (Pamplona, 1981), pp. 137-148.
- 1536 HEENE, K., "Merovingian and Carolingian hagiography: Continuity or change in public and aims?", *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), pp. 415-428.
- 1537 HEENE, K., "Audire, legere, vulgo: An attempt to define public use and comprehensibility of Carolingian hagiography", in: No. 543, pp. 146-163.
- 1538 HEENE, K., "Litteris ac memoriae mandare: writing and oral information in Carolingian miracle stories", *Litterae Hagiologicae* 3 (1997), pp. 6-14.
- 1539 JANSEN, J., "Vroegmiddeleeuwse strafwonderen als bron van onze kennis over een orale samenleving", *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 31 (1989), pp. 163-191.
- 1540 KARWASIŃSKA, J., *Wybór pism: Święty Wojciech* (Warsaw, 1996).
- 1541 KRESTEN, O., "Leontios von Neapolis als Tachygraph? Hagiographische Texte als Quellen zu Schriftlichkeit und Buchkultur im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert", *Scrittura e civiltà* 1 (1977), pp. 155-175.
- 1542 MAGENNIS, H., " 'Listen now all and understand': Adaptation of hagiographical material for vernacular audiences in the Old English Lives of St. Margaret", *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 27-42.
- 1543 NEWBOLD, R., "Non-verbal communication in early Christian hagiography", *The Ancient World: Art and Literature in Antiquity* 28 (1997), pp. 83-94.
- 1544 O RIAIN, P., "The saints and their amanuenses: Early models and later issues", in: No. 1469, pp. 267-280.
- 1545 SMITH, J.M.H., "Oral and written: Saints, miracles and relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250", *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 309-343.
- 1546 VAN EGMOND, W.S., "The audience of early medieval hagiographical texts", in this volume, pp. 41-66.

- 1547 VAN UYTFANGHE, M., "Le latin des hagiographes mérovingiens et la protohistoire du français", *Romanica Gandensia* 16 (1976), pp. 5-89.
- 1548 VAN UYTFANGHE, M., "L'hagiographie et son public à l'époque mérovingienne", *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985), pp. 54-62.
- 1549 VITZ, E.B., "Traditions orales et écrites dans les histoires des saints", *Poétique* 72 (1987), pp. 387-402.
- 1550 VITZ, E.B., "From the oral to the written in medieval and Renaissance saints' lives", in: *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. R. BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI and T. SZELL (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 97-114.
- 1551 WITKOWSKA, A., "Miracula małopolskie z XIII i XIV wieku", *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 19 (1971), 2, pp. 29-160.
- 1552 WOGAN-BROWNE, J., "Saints' lives and the female reader", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27 (1991), pp. 314-332.

15.3 Magic of the Written Word

- 1553 BROOKE DAVIS, A., "Language as affective medium and as modelling system: Anglo-Saxon script charms and the condition of magic", in: No. 230, pp. 127-154.
- 1554 BYLINA, S., "Cum Iuda, Datan et Abiron: Maledykacje w dokumentach średniowiecznej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej", in: *Biedni i Bogaci* (Warsaw, 1992), pp. 243-251.
- 1555 DE NIE, G., "De 'kracht' van wat in het boek gezegd wordt: Woord, schrift en teken in zesde-eeuws Gallië", in: No. 203, pp. 63-88.
- 1556 DÜWEL, K., "Buchstabenmagie und Alphabetzauber: Zu den Inschriften der Goldbrakteaten und ihrer Funktion als Amulette", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), pp. 70-110.
- 1557 GANIM, J.M., "The devil's writing lesson", in: No. 1456, pp. 109-23.
- 1558 GUARDUCCI, M., "Il fenomeno orientale del simbolismo alfabetico e i suoi sviluppi nel mondo cristiano d'Occidente", in: *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Rome, 1964), pp. 467-499.
- 1559 HARTUNG, W., "Die Magie des Geschriebenen", in: No. 230, pp. 109-126.
- 1560 MOSTERT, M., "La magie de l'écrit dans le Haut Moyen Âge: Quelques réflexions générales", in: *Haut Moyen-Age: Culture, éducation et société: Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. M. SOT (La Garenne-Colombes, 1990), pp. 273-281.
- 1561 MOSTERT, M., "De magie van het geschreven woord", in: *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom: Studies over ritueel en magie in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. M. MOSTERT and A. DEMYTENAERE (Hilversum, 1995: *Amsterdamse Historische Reeks: Grote Serie* 22), pp. 61-100.
- 1562 MÜLLER, G., "Von der Buchstabenmagie zur Namenmagie in den Brakteateninschriften", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), pp. 111-157.

- 1563 NELSON, M., "King Solomon's magic: The power of a written text", *Oral Tradition* 5 (1990), pp. 20-36.
- 1564 NIELSEN, K.M., "Runen und Magie: Ein forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 19 (1985), pp. 75-97.
- 1565 OLSAN, L., "Latin Charms of medieval England: Verbal healing in a Christian oral tradition", *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 116-42.
- 1566 POULIN, J.-C., "Entre magie et religion: Recherches sur les utilisations marginales de l'écrit dans la culture populaire du haut Moyen-Âge", in: *La culture populaire au Moyen Âge*, ed. P. BOGLIONI (Montreal, 1977), pp. 121-143.
- 1567 SCHWAB, U., "Runen der Merowingerzeit als Quelle für das Weiterleben der spätantiken christlichen und nichtchristlichen Schriftmagie?", in: *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung: Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4.-9. August 1995*, ed. K. DÜWEL and S. NOWAK (Berlin, 1998: *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 15), pp. 376-433.

16. The Symbolism of the Book

- 1568 BLOCH, P., "Das Buch im Spiegel mittelalterlicher Handschriften", *Das Münster: Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft* 5-6 (1972), pp. 325-332.
- 1569 *The Book and the Body*, ed. D. WARWICK FRESE and K. O'BRIEN O'KEEFE (Notre Dame and London, 1997).
- 1570 CURSCHMANN, M., "Hören-Lesen-Sehen: Buch und Schriftlichkeit im Selbstverständnis der volkssprachlichen literarischen Kultur Deutschlands um 1200", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 106 (1984), pp. 218-257.
- 1571 CURTIUS, E.R., "Das Buch als Symbol in der Divina Commedia", in: *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf, 1926), pp. 44-54.
- 1572 CURTIUS, E.R., "Das Buch als Symbol", in: E.R. CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1973⁸), pp. 306-352.
- 1573 DINZELBACHER, P., "Die Bedeutung des Buches in der Karolingerzeit", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 24 (1983), col. 257-288.
- 1574 GUSSONE, N., "Der Codex auf dem Thron: Zur Ehrung des Evangelienbuches (oder: des heiligen Buches) in Liturgie und Zeremoniell", in: *Wort und Buch in der Liturgie*, ed. H.P. NEUHEUSER (St. Ottilien, 1995).
- 1575 HERKOMMER, H., "Buch der Schrift und Buch der Natur: Zur Spiritualität der Welterfahrung im Mittelalter, mit einem Ausblick auf ihren Wandel in der Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 46 (1986), pp. 167-178.

- 1576 JOHANNOT, Y., *Tourner la page: Livre, rites et symboles*, 2nd edn. (Grenoble, 1994).
- 1577 KELBER, W.H., "Die Fleischwerdung des Wortes in der Körperlichkeit des Textes", in: No. 25, pp. 31-42.
- 1578 KOEP, L., *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Bildersprache* (Bonn, 1952: *Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums* 8).
- 1579 SCHMIDT, G., "Waffenlärm und Grabesstille: Buch und Bibliothek im Spiegel der Metapher", *Philobiblon* 34 (1990), pp. 3-12.
- 1580 SCHREINER, K., " '... wie Maria geleicht einem puch': Beiträge zur Buchmetaphorik des hohen und späten Mittelalters", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 11 (1971), col. 1437-1464.

Subject index

- abacus 779
 Abba 1488
 Abiron 1554
 Acallam na Senorach 680, 694
 Adalbert, St. [Wojciech] 1540
 Aidan, St., see: Vita Sancti Aedani
 Aldeia do Lamegal 688
 Alexius, St. 1535; see also: Vita Sancti Alexii
 Alfonso X, king 768
 alphabet, alphabetisation 1-2, 121, 160, 177, 181, 217-218, 232, 240, 242-243, 249, 255-256, 262, 312, 340, 359, 748, 794, 805, 807, 950, 989, 1067, 1136, 1556, 1558
 Andrea di Barberino 1372
 Andreas 1350
 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 706
 Anjou dynasty 1184
 annals 711
 anthropology 77-94
 Antiquity 140-173; see also: book production and use; memory, oral and written; reading; teaching
 Arab and Middle Eastern literatures 1497-1502
 archaeology 637
 Arezzo 681, 790
 aristocrats 747, 1089-1099
 arithmetic 767
 ars dictaminis 785
 artes mechanicae 1041
 Arthurian literature 682
 audience, see: public
 Augustine, St. 887
 authors 190, 244, 297, 345, 428, 661, 908, 926, 995, 1106
 Avian 757
 Avignon 1245
 Babel 511, 539
 ballads 1278, 1334, 1466
 Battle of Maldon 1336, 1413
 Bayeux 406
 Beda Venerabilis 1531
 Beira Alta 688
 Belial 439
 Benedict, St. 373
 Beowulf 971, 1305, 1320, 1323, 1414-1416, 1419, 1425, 1427, 1432, 1434-1435, 1441, 1445; see also: Grendel
 Bergamo 1143, 1215
 Bergen (Norway) 325
 Bernard, St. 620
 Beroul 1384
 Berthold of Regensburg 630
 Bestiaire d'Amour 447
 Bible 140, 142-144, 196, 267, 456, 906, 1051, 1507, 1517
 Bible moralisée 416
 Biblical Antiquity 140-145

- bilingualism 590, 597, 689, 1526
 Bohemia 330, 335, 340, 568, 57-576, 586,
 597-598, 772, 825, 829-831, 857, 1073-
 1174
 book production and use, general 824-834;
 Antiquity, Byzantium and Early Middle
 Ages; Later Middle Ages 840-858
 Book of Armagh 315
 Book of Margery Kempe 1459, 1462
 books of hours 937
 bracteates 823
 Bretagne 591, 1093
 Byzantium 174-181; see also: book production
 and use; reading
 Caedmon's Hymn 1430-1431, 1437
 Caesarius of Arles 171
 calligraphy 796
 Canterbury 296
 Canterbury Tales 697, 1453-1455; see also:
 Franklin's Tale
 Cantigas 459
 capitularies 1157, 1163
 Carolingians 216, 220, 224, 227, 383, 434,
 491, 559, 562, 714, 839, 1140, 1159,
 1177, 1218, 1224-1225, 1536-1538, 1573
 Carpenter, John 856
 Castile 258, 1011
 Catalonia 596, 1232; see also: Iberian Peninsula
 Catherine of Siena, St. 1121
 Caxton, William 293, 907, 914
 Celtic Fringe, see: Ireland and the "Celtic
 Fringe"
 Celtic literature 1465-1481
 Cenn Faelad 1479
 Central and Eastern Europe, general surveys
 330-341
 Central and Eastern European Literature 1496
 ceremony, see: ritual and ceremony, political
 Chanson de Roland 398, 1077
 chansons de geste 440, 1255, 1362, 1387-1388
 Charlemagne 219, 527, 549, 1244, 1326
 Charles Le Téméraire, king 1099
 charters 251, 276, 587, 957, 1059, 1136, 1168-
 1185, 1507
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 301, 697, 1066, 1453-1455
 Chrétien de Troyes 391, 1378
 chronicles 586, 705, 711, 712, 718, 722, 916,
 1380
 Cid, see: Mio Cid
 Cividale 1112
 Classical Antiquity 146-155
 clergy and laymen 1049-1057
 clergy, regular 1068-1088; secular 1058-1067
 clothes 403-405
 Codex Manesse 421
 codicology 947, 1153
 coins 401, 823
 Cologne 592, 1216
 Colop, John 856
 colours 366-367
 communication, theory 1-30
 Como 1165
 Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi
 (Compendium veteris testamenti) 1051
 composition of oral literature 1329-1342
 Concelho de Pinhel 688
 Constantine, see: Vita Constantini
 Consuetudines Guigonis 1070
 contes 1473
 coronation 376, 486, 487, 642
 correspondence 1025-1033
 Cracow 1062
 Cynewulf 1412
 cyrillic writing 225, 337, 576
 Dalimil 586
 Dante Alighieri 246, 763, 1571
 Datan 1554
 Den Bosch 1021
 Denmark 323
 Deventer 1524
 devotio moderna 858, 1523
 Diderot, Denis 1024
 diglossia 322, 512, 570
 dispute settlement, see: jurisdiction and dispute
 settlement
 distinction, see: language as a means of
 distinction
 Domesday Book 293
 Douce Apocalypse 438
 Durham 420
 Dutch literature 1408
 dyslexia 866
 Early Middle Ages, general surveys 216-231

- Eastern Europe, see: Central and Eastern Europe
 Edda 1333, 1485-1486, 1488-1489
 editorial techniques, see: reading
 education, see: teaching
 electronic word 353
 Eligius, St., see: Vita Eligii
 encyclopaedia 435, 1042, 1044
 Eneasroman 398, 427
 England 279-281, 289, 292, 294-295, 298, 300-302, 348, 358, 408, 537, 762, 771, 773, 780, 783-784, 832-833, 841-842, 856, 880, 909, 914, 917, 935, 962-963, 993, 1032, 1066-1067, 1069, 1092, 1098, 1124, 1171, 1192, 1203, 1217, 1223, 1230-1231, 1239, 1270, 1312, 1409-1464, 1512, 1515-1516, 1519, 1542, 1545, 1565; Anglo-Saxon E. 282-286, 290-291, 678, 812, 902, 1109, 1164, 1179, 1194, 1220, 1336, 1411, 1422, 1426-1428, 1433, 1438, 1553; Early Middle Ages 282-291; Later Middle Ages 292-302
 English literature 287, 692-693, 696, 962, 1280, 1336; see also: Middle English literature. Old English literature
 epic 1312-1328; see also: Heldendichtung, Heldensage
 Erec 391, 1114
 ethnography 80, 93
 exempla 1060
 fabliaux 1205, 1358, 1373
 Fibel 775
 Finland 1030
 Florence 252, 255, 763, 767, 776
 Fornaldarsaga 684, 1346, 1491
 Francia, romance speaking 549
 France 260-263, 342, 379, 406, 488, 571, 574, 800, 867, 911, 917, 995-997, 1063, 1141, 1196, 1212, 1293, 1347-1348, 1373-1391, 1505
 Frankfurt am Main 219
 Franklin's Tale 1449
 Franks 679, 717, 1210, 1218
 Freiburg school 76
 French literature 77, 508, 1280, 1293, 1373-1391
 Frisia (Friesland) 277, 599
 Galbert of Bruges 718
 Gallus Anonymus 710
 Gaul 260, 551, 557, 1237, 1555
 Geirmundr heljarskinn 1490
 genealogies, royal 678, 1051
 German literature 509, 704, 896, 1280, 1288, 1341, 1392-1407
 Germania, see: Germany
 Germany 223, 264-266, 270, 272-274, 304, 350, 404, 480, 495, 515, 574, 597, 678, 691, 704, 800, 834, 843, 945, 1006, 1040, 1118, 1144-1145, 1159, 1183, 1210, 1216, 1227, 1287-1288, 1305, 1318, 1327, 1341, 1392-1407, 1505, 1525, 1570; Early Middle Ages 267-270; Later Middle Ages 271-275
 Gesta Francorum 717
 gestures 368-400
 Gheraert Leeu 1000
 Giotto 370
 glagolitic writing 225, 735
 Goody, Jack 45
 Goths 218
 Gouda 1000
 government 1213-1237
 government, management and trade, general 1128-1141
 Gower, John, Confessio Amantis 424
 grammar 5, 222, 775, 934
 Greek Antiquity 156-165
 Gregorian music 460, 465
 Gregory the Great, St. 241, 419
 Grendel 360
 Guigo, see: Consuetudines Guigonis
 Gutenberg, Johann 1024
 hagiography 1528-1552
 Halewijn, Heer 701
 Hamburg 1227
 Hans, Bruder 1068
 Hartmann von Aue 391, 1114
 Havelok the Dane 683, 1451
 Heldendichtung 1315, 1318
 Heldensage 684, 690-691, 699, 1281, 1318, 1327-1328, 1482-1495
 Heliand 267
 Henry I, emperor 642

- heresy 1509-1510, 1514-1516, 1520-1521
 historiography, see: oral tradition; history
 history, 176, 515, 528, 586, 612, 616, 635-636,
 639-640, 643, 645-646, 656, 665-666,
 699, 704-722, 916, 991
 Hjórleifr inn kvensami 1490
 Holland, see: Low Countries
 Homer 130, 1323
 Horace, Satires 933
 Hugh of Cluny 1088
 Hugh of St. Victor, Didascalion 925
 humanism 274, 327, 384, 768, 922, 1016,
 1019
 Hungary 330, 715-716, 1091, 1172, 1180
 Iberian literature 1367-1371
 Iberian Peninsula, general surveys 257-259
 Iceland 319, 326, 328, 872, 1200, 1304, 1482,
 1490
 illiteracy 31-32, 39, 192, 282, 415, 423, 723,
 1095, 1098, 1250, 1393
 inscriptions 436, 823
 Ireland and the "Celtic Fringe" 303-316, 708,
 745, 900, 1065, 1271, 1304, 1312, 1465-
 1470, 1473-1477, 1479-1481
 Italian literature 1372
 Italy 239-240, 243-245, 248, 250, 252-256,
 499, 536, 553, 571, 574, 707, 763, 769,
 776, 788, 802, 993, 1019, 1059, 1063,
 1117, 1121, 1129, 1143, 1145-1146,
 1151-1153, 1155, 1165, 1168, 1187,
 1199, 1213-1215, 1219, 1221-1222,
 1238, 1372, 1520; Early Middle Ages 241-
 245; Later Middle Ages 246-256
 Iwein 391
 Jagiellonian dynasty 1184
 Jerome, St. 835
 Jews, see: Judaism
 jongleurs 918
 Judaism, 141, 145, 342-343, 653, 807, 881,
 891
 Judas 1554
 jurisdiction and dispute settlement 1186-1212
 Kalevala 1332
 Karel ende Elegast 702
 Kempe, Margery, see: Book of Margery Kempe
 kingship, see: politics
 Koopmans, M. 723, 727
 Kosovo 672
 Kremsmünster 766
 Labov, William 719
 Lancelot 930
 language as a means of distinction 536-538
 language, general 510-535
 language, thinking about 539-542
 Late Antiquity 170-173
 Later Middle Ages, general surveys 232-238
 Latin language 543-546; as mother tongue 547-
 562; as "father tongue" 563-570
 lay-out, see: reading
 laymen 257, 285, 302, 749, 750, 839, 855, 912,
 1049, 1053-1054, 1056-1057, 1089-1105,
 1179, 1512; see also: clergy and laymen
 Legend of Kosovo 672
 legislation 1142-1167
 Leontios of Naples 1541
 Lérins 1074
 libraries 335, 345, 839, 847-848, 850, 885,
 940, 1044, 1069, 1079, 1579
 libri pauperum 1527
 lieux de mémoire 634-637
 Lille 1233
 literary texts, see: oral tradition
 literature, general 1248-1277
 Lodi 1148, 1165
 Lombards 679
 London 841, 856
 Louis XI, king of France 1099
 Low Countries 276-278, 349, 359, 587, 764,
 826, 941, 1005, 1022, 1132, 1169, 1326.
 See also: Frisia
 Lübeck 271, 1227
 Lucan 1099
 Lyon 589
 MacEoin, Geróid 306
 magic 892, 1553-1567
 Magna Charta 1203, 1231
 Maldon, see: Battle of Maldon
 management 1238-1244; see also: government,
 management and trade
 mandarin literacy 1034-1045
 Manières de langage 1382
 manuscript research, see: reading
 Margaret, St., see: Vita Sanctae Margarethae
 Marie de France 1375, 1390

- McLuhan, Marshall 45
 Melk 774
 memory 268, 294, 429, 458, 600-635, 639-641, 648, 671, 711, 739, 797
 Merovingian dynasty 559, 749, 1237, 1536, 1547-1548, 1567
 Middle Ages, general surveys 182-215
 Middle Eastern literatures, see: Arab and Middle Eastern literatures
 Middle English literature 953, 963, 1270, 1302, 1446-1464; poetry 43
 Milan 1064, 1188
 minstrels 1302
 Mio Cid 1294, 1367, 1371
 Mitüberlieferung 1162
 mnemonic systems 608, 613, 620, 625-626, 630
 Modern times, general surveys 344-360
 monastic culture 287, 368, 373, 409, 507, 620, 720, 746, 766, 830, 854, 903, 1050, 1068-1088, 1243-1244
 Montaillo 641
 Monte Velate, S. Maria di 1064
 monuments 637
 Moriaen 930
 Mount Athos 179
 multilingualism 526, 1030, 1036
 Münster school 75
 music 458-465
 myth 607, 636, 1207
 Naples, see: Leontios 1541
 Nibelungenlied 400, 1332, 1392-1393, 1396, 1405
 Njals saga 699, 1207
 non-verbal communication, general 361-364
 Novara 1059, 1165
 Novgorod 1031
 Occitania 263
 ogamic writing 306
 Old English literature 577, 951-952, 1312, 1409-1445, 1542; poetry 689, 1110, 1417, 1421, 1423-1424, 1430, 1436, 1439, 1442-1444, 1446
 Olkofra Thattr 1304
 Ong, Walter 35, 45, 50
 oral communication 324, 502-506
 oral literature 1278-1311; see also: composition
 oral societies, see: past, the
 oral tradition, general 651-674; Early Middle Ages 675-680; in historiography 704-722; in literary texts 682-703; Later Middle Ages 681
 orality 8, 31-78, 81-82, 84, 86, 104, 106-107, 109, 111-112, 123, 127, 129, 140-142, 145, 161, 163-166, 174, 180, 201-203, 205, 213, 221, 223, 228-229, 233, 246, 260, 262, 267-268, 273, 281, 286, 288, 290, 300, 304, 316, 321, 325, 327, 334, 360, 392-393, 426, 459, 460-461, 475, 483, 502-506, 510, 516, 518, 520, 522-523, 531, 534-535, 547, 550-552, 554-555, 557, 561, 563, 565, 571, 588, 596, 631, 638-674, 676-682, 685-689, 694-697, 699, 701, 703, 715, 717-722, 759, 769, 781-793, 807, 913-914, 943, 951-952, 962-963, 988, 990, 1015, 1029, 1038, 1045, 1074, 1080, 1084, 1091, 1101, 1113, 1121, 1135, 1150, 1161, 1163, 1170, 1172, 1194, 1205, 1209, 1250, 1259, 1261, 1263, 1265, 1269, 1274-1275, 1277, 1278-1342, 1344, 1347, 1351, 1359, 1360, 1363, 1367-1370, 1372-1377, 1380, 1382-1386, 1388-1392, 1395-1396, 1398, 1400, 1405, 1409-1410, 1412, 1417, 1421-1422, 1424, 1426-1427, 1429, 1433, 1435, 1437-1439, 1443-1447, 1449, 1452, 1454, 1455-1456, 1458-1459, 1462-1464, 1467-1471, 1473-1478, 1480-1496, 1498-1501, 1504, 1510, 1530-1532, 1534-1535, 1538-1539, 1545, 1549-1550, 1555, 1565, 1570; orality versus literacy 31-74
 orthography 809, 980, 989
 Oswald von Wolkenstein 275
 Ottonian dynasty 266, 383, 490, 491, 747, 1177
 Palaiologian dynasty 1228
 parody 1377
 Parry, Milman 657, 686
 Parzifal 391, 930, 1378, 1401
 past, the 638-650
 Pastoureaux, Michel 366
 Patrick, St. 315

- Patristic literature 695, 835, 887
 patronage 74, 855, 995, 1275
 Pavia 1165
 peasants 1100-1104
 Peacock, Reginald 856
 performance 1343-1366
 Peter of Poitiers 1051
 Piast dynasty 411, 1090, 1112, 1185
 písemnictví, see: literacy
 piśmienność, see: literacy
 pismo, see: writing
 Pizzicarola, Maddalena 256
 Plato 157
 Poland 330, 335, 337, 339, 376, 381, 411, 486,
 568, 710, 791, 850, 851, 991, 1061, 1085,
 1090, 1111-1112, 1181-1182, 1184-1185,
 1229, 1496, 1507, 1540, 1551, 1554, see
 also: Jagiellonian dynasty, Piast dynasty
 political propaganda, see: politics
 politics, 138, 153, 238, 238, 264-265, 289, 380,
 396, 476-501, 529, 679, 795, 803, 1038,
 1072, 1090, 1092-1093, 1099, 1128-
 1141, 1176, 1217-1218, 1220, 1224-
 1226, 1228-1231, 1234, 1428, 1574
 Portugal, see: Iberian Peninsula
 power, see: politics
 Prague 772
 prayer 859
 printing, print 127, 187, 279, 347, 354, 441,
 845, 908, 992-1024, 1093
 production and use of written texts 792-793
 protestantism, Reformation 350, 777, 778,
 1525
 Psalter, in German 1068
 Psalter of Charles the Bald 422
 Psalter of Egbert 1112
 psychology 95-108
 public, audience 172, 190, 244, 297, 345, 861,
 882, 887, 889-890, 908-909, 1000, 1058,
 1124, 1249, 1250, 1402, 1457, 1528,
 1537, 1552
 punctuation 958, 962, 964, 968, 969, 974, 976
 readers, see: public
 reading 46, 55, 80, 94, 101, 171-172, 234, 237,
 244, 301, 319, 329, 415, 432, 447, 561,
 706, 732, 744, 746, 752, 769, 779, 789,
 859-880, 946-991, 1071, 1093, 1117,
 1513, 1525, 1570; in Antiquity 881-888;
 in Byzantium 889-890; in the Middle
 Ages, general 891-899; the Early Middle
 Ages 900-906; in the Later Middle Ages
 907-943; in Early Modern times 944-945;
 see also: teaching
 reading, lay-out, manuscript research and
 editorial techniques 946-991
 Religion and writing, general 1503-1506; in the
 Middle Ages and in Early Modern times
 1507-1527
 Remaclus, St., see: Triumphus Sancti Remacii
 Reynaert 538
 rhetoric 60, 116, 170, 768, 934, 953, 969,
 1035, 1036, 1039, 1119
 Riquier, St., see: Vita Riquieri
 ritual and ceremony, general 466-475; political
 476-501
 Robert de Boron 1374
 Roman Antiquity 166-169
 Roman d'Eracle 1391
 Roman de Perceforest 1380
 Roman de Renart 1376
 Roman de Tristan 1339, 1384
 romances 1270, 1291, 1302-1303, 1326, 1347,
 1380, 1452, 1457
 Rome, medieval 256
 Romenia 593
 runic writing 284, 734, 811-824, 1207, 1564,
 1567
 Rush, Friar 1084
 Russia 332-333, 338, 341, 1320
 Sachsenspiegel 444, 452, 982, 1154
 Salerno 242
 San Vincenzo al Volturno 436
 Scandinavia, general surveys 317-329
 Scandinavian literature 1482-1495
 Scela Mucce Meic Dathó 1304
 Scotland 1128
 scribes 295, 853, 975, 1557
 script and script forms 794-810
 seals 1175, 1177
 Sebastiaan, de spin 930
 semiotics 13, 17, 979
 Serenus of Marseilles 419
 sermons 1058, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1526
 silence 507-509

- Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 1448, 1450
 skalds 1493-1494
 Slavs 225, 582, 1294-1295
 smells 365
 Snorri Sturluson 1495
 social groups, general 1046-1046
 sociology 77-94
 Solomon and Saturn 1424
 songs 899
 Spain 257, 259, 562, 572, 585, 721, 768, 910,
 1011, 1357, 1367-1371; see also: Iberian
 Peninsula
 Speyer 238
 St. Gall 269, 902
 Strasbourg 357, 997
 Stuart dynasty 762
 Sulpicius Severus 551
 Suso, Heinrich 409
 Sweden 567
 symbolic communication 182, 1173, 1532,
 1543, 1558, 1568-1580.
 symbolic objects 401-402
 symbolism of the book 1568-1580
 tachygraphy 1541
 Táin 1467
 Taliesin 1466
 teaching 96, 256, 462, 564, 566, 723-727,
 1040, 1073; in Antiquity 728-730; in the
 Middle Ages 731-743; in the Early Middle Ages
 744-756; in the Later Middle Ages 757-791
 textualisation, see: textuality
 textuality 202, 213, 342, 447, 664, 1263, 1286,
 1440,
 Thidrek's saga 691
 Thousand and One Nights 1361
 towns 243, 247, 249, 250-252, 254-256, 271,
 356, 495, 499, 592, 738, 763, 767, 769,
 776, 788, 841, 851, 856, 910, 945, 1105,
 1129, 1143-1144, 1146, 1148, 1150-
 1153, 1155-1156, 1168, 1170, 1187,
 1213-1214, 1216, 1219, 1221-1223,
 1227, 1232, 1235, 1520
 trade 1245-1247; see also: government,
 management and trade
 tradition, see: oral tradition
 Traditionsbuch 1175
 Traditionsnotiz 1175
 Tristan 398, 1339, 1390
 Triumphus Sancti Remacii 1534
 troubadour lyric 429, 1265, 1342, 1383
 troubadours 1494
 Trubert 1373
 Tudor dynasty 762
 Tyniec 1182
 Ugo d'Alvernia 1372
 Umar An-Nu'mân 1497
 university 772, 782
 Valencia 910, 929
 Venice 252, 769
 vernaculars, surveys 571-575; Early Middle
 Ages 576-585; Later Middle Ages 586-599
 Verona 1155
 Villon, François 1385; Testament 1385
 Virgin Mary 1120, 1122, 1507
 visual arts 406-412
 visual images and texts 413-457
 Vita Constantini 1530
 Vita Eligii 260
 Vita Riquieri 548
 Vita Sanctae Margarethae 1542
 Vita Sancti Aidani 1531
 Vita Sancti Alexii 1535
 Voghera 1165
 Wales 304, 311
 Waltharius 1322
 Wavrin, Jean de 847
 wax tablets 154, 185
 Westphalia 1050
 Willehalm 506
 Wolfram von Eschenbach 391, 506, 1401
 women 1106-1127
 Wright, Thomas 843
 writing 8, 11-12, 14-15, 19-23, 38, 54, 68, 94-
 95, 101, 112, 117, 120, 128, 132-133,
 136, 139, 141-142, 145, 150, 155, 160-
 161, 178, 180, 188, 191, 196-197, 215,
 220, 234, 237, 241-242, 251, 256, 273,
 276, 298, 301, 325, 329, 344, 447, 461,
 465, 531, 547, 561, 596, 608-609, 615,
 623-624, 631, 706, 746, 748, 752, 765-
 766, 779, 786, 789, 795-799, 801-802,
 805, 808-810, 866, 989, 1046, 1063,
 1071-1072, 1086, 1093, 1117, 1124,
 1246, 1343, 1504, 1513, 1555; see also:

glagolitic w., cyrillic w., ogamic w., runic w.
 writing, see also: teaching
 written culture, general historical surveys 109-139

Wulfila 218
 Wulfstan, Sermones Lupi 288
 York 185
 Zuanne 769

Index of modern authors and editors

- Abou-el-Haj, B., 1528
 Abukhanfusa, K., 919
 Acker, P., 1312
 Adamska, A., 330, 366, 1507
 Adamson, J.W., 282, 292, 731
 Ahern, J.J., 246
 Ahlzeig, C., 824
 Alexander, J., 408
 Alexandre-Bidon, D., 732, 740
 Altenburg, D., 495
 Althoff, G., 182, 466, 476-479, 617, 704, 806, 1089, 1186
 Altmann, U., 992
 Alvar, C., 1468, 1535
 Ambrosiani, B., 820
 Amodio, M.C., 1409, 1446-1448, 1456
 Amos, T.L., 1058
 Andersson, T.M., 1410
 Angenendt, A., 1508
 Antonelli, R., 535
 Antos, G., 792
 Argyle, M., 361
 Ariès, Ph., 344
 Arlinghaus, F.-J., 1245, 1246
 Arn, M.J., 1457
 Arnovick, L.K., 1449
 Arns, E., 835
 Arrathoon, L.A., 1391
 Ashcroft, J., 1068
 Assmann, A., 69, 122, 138, 613, 615, 651, 652, 1248
 Assmann, J., 69, 122, 600-601, 611, 615, 652
 Aston, M., 1509
 Asztalos, M., 815
 Auerbach, E., 1249
 Bach, U., 1250
 Bacou, M., 505
 Badel, P.-Y., 1373
 Baecker, D., 1046
 Baillet, P., 540
 Baines, J., 41
 Bak, J., 481, 1037, 1091
 Bakarar, R., 368
 Baker, P.S., 1425
 Bakker, E., 1363
 Bakker, E.J., 1344
 Balard, M., 503
 Baldini, M., 110
 Baldzuhn, M., 757
 Balogh, J., 859, 860
 Balsamo, L., 993
 Bammesberger, A., 284, 812
 Banaszkiwicz, J., 380
 Bange, P., 277
 Banniard, M., 216, 241, 260, 510, 547-550
 Banson, C.D., 1450
 Bar Itzhak, H., 653
 Barasch, M., 369, 370
 Barney, S.A., 970
 Baron, S.W., 140
 Barrow, G., 1128
 Bartoli Langeli, A., 1, 2
 Bauer, I., 897
 Bauer, R., 1498
 Baumann, G., 139
 Baumgartner, N., 978
 Bäuml, B.J., 371
 Bäuml, F., 1314, 1394
 Bäuml, F.H., 31-33, 183, 264, 265, 267, 371, 1251, 1313, 1329, 1345, 1392, 1393
 Bautier, R.-H., 184
 Beard, M., 167
 Beaton, R., 174
 Beck, H., 1318
 Becker, C., 1213, 1214
 Bedos-Rezak, B., 342

- Behrmann, T., 239, 247, 1059, 1129, 1168, 1187, 1188, 1222
- Bekker-Nielsen, H., 668, 1292
- Bell, D.N., 1069
- Bellomo, M., 1189
- Belyea, B., 907
- Benneth, S., 817
- Bennett, H.S., 840, 908, 909
- Berbig, H.J., 480
- Berger, C., 458
- Berger, P., 910
- Berlin, G.I., 1411
- Berschin, W., 337
- Bertelson, P., 723
- Besamusca, B., 930
- Bessason, H., 1333
- Betten, A., 34, 1395
- Bieler, L., 563
- Bieniak, J., 1049
- Biere, B.U., 111
- Biller, P., 1510, 1514
- Binkley, P., 1042
- Binski, P., 408
- Birkhan, H., 1094
- Bischoff, B., 565
- Bitsch, I., 466
- Bizzell, P., 3
- Bláhová, E., 576
- Bláhová, M., 586, 705
- Blake, N.F., 112
- Blanche-Benveniste, C., 64
- Blattmann, M., 250, 1142-1145, 1215
- Bloch, P., 1568
- Blok, D.P., 278
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, R., 1374, 1550
- Bödeker, H.E., 828, 1505
- Bodemann, U., 758, 759
- Boekholt, P.Th.F.M., 760
- Boffey, J., 1106
- Boglioni, P., 1566
- Bogoch, B., 1194
- Boitani, P., 1264
- Böker, U., 1420
- Boklund-Lagopoulou, K., 1107
- Bonaventure, Brother, 564
- Bonfil, R., 891
- Bonjour, A., 1315
- Borgolte, M., 483, 634, 1209
- Borkowska, U., 1511
- Bormuth, J.R., 4
- Borst, A., 539
- Bosselmann-Cyran, K., 511
- Bossy, J., 1195
- Boulestreau, N., 978
- Boureau, A., 1025
- Bourgain, P., 946
- Bouterse, C.C., 459
- Bowman, A.K., 153
- Boyarin, D., 881
- Boyarin, J., 868
- Boyer, R., 1346
- Boyle, L.E., 947
- Bozóky, E., 682
- Bozzolo, C., 911
- Bracha, K., 786, 1111
- Bradbury, N.M., 683, 1451-1452
- Bradford, R., 127
- Brall, H., 942
- Brandsma, F., 930
- Brandt, R., 35
- Braunstein, P., 912
- Brechtter, S., 565
- Bredehoft, T.A., 706
- Breidenbach, S., 1190
- Bremmer, J., 372
- Brewer, J., 348
- Brezzi, P., 1136
- Bright, W., 810
- Brilliant, R., 406
- Britnell, R., 1130, 1131, 1137
- Brixhe, C., 794
- Bronzini, G.B., 1529
- Brooke Davis, A., 1553
- Brouwer, H., 994
- Brown, C.J., 995
- Brown, G.H., 283, 577
- Brown, M.P., 185
- Browning, R., 175-177
- Brubaker, L., 407
- Bruckner, M.T., 1375
- Bruford, A., 1465
- Brüggen, E., 403
- Brunner, H., 457
- Bruns, G.L., 1252

- Buc, P., 467
 Buchholz, P., 684, 1346
 Bullough, D., 1191
 Burgers, J.W.J., 276, 587, 1005, 1132
 Burgess, G.S., 431, 1048, 1398
 Burke, P., 186, 248, 502, 521-522, 536, 602
 Busby, K., 73, 990
 Busch, J.W., 707, 1146-1149, 1165, 1238
 Butler, F., 1530
 Butler, T., 612
 Butzer, G., 685
 Butzer, P., 1244
 Bylina, S., 1554
 Bynum, D.E., 1279
 Byock, J.L., 1482-1484
 Byrne, C.J., 579, 680
 Calder, D.G., 1341
 Calvet, L.-J., 654
 Calvin, B., 1415
 Cameron, A., 170
 Camille, M., 408, 414-417
 Campbell, J., 5
 Can, E., 217
 Canadé Sautman, F., 674
 Cancik, H., 418
 Candau, J., 603
 Cannadine, D., 498
 Cardini, F., 249
 Carey, H.M., 1512
 Carey, J., 708
 Carey, J.W., 6
 Carlquist, J., 317, 913
 Carother, J.C., 95
 Carpenter, E., 1013
 Carruthers, M.J., 618-619, 1035
 Carter, C.J., 77
 Casagrande, C., 540
 Caspi, M.M., 1368
 Cathey, J.E., 218
 Cavallo, G., 873, 882-884, 889, 1513
 Cerquiglioni, B., 261
 Chadwick, H.M., 1253
 Chadwick, N.K., 1253
 Chandès, G., 1254
 Chartier, R., 113, 344-347, 827, 862, 873-874, 879, 996, 999, 1025
 Chaytor, H.J., 279, 948
 Chazelle, C.M., 419
 Cherewatuk, K., 1121
 Cherniss, M.D., 1412
 Chiche, M., 1529
 Chrisman, M.U., 997
 Christianson, C.P., 841
 Christmann, U., 863
 Christy, T.C., 1341
 Cipolla, C., 114
 Cirlot, V., 1468, 1535
 Clanchy, M.T., 36, 187, 188, 280, 293, 294, 420, 638, 1192
 Clapham, M., 998
 Clark, C., 295-296
 Clark, G., 1413
 Clarke, H., 820
 Classen, A., 892
 Classen, P., 1202
 Clayton, J., 951
 Cole, M., 96, 99, 108
 Coleman, J., 297, 620, 621, 914-917
 Collins, R., 257, 1193
 Connerton, P., 604
 Conran, T., 1466
 Contamine, P., 262
 Cook-Gumperz, J., 8, 29
 Cook Morse, C., 1124
 Copeland, R., 1036
 Cornier, R.J., 1467-1468
 Corthals, J., 900
 Cosmos, S., 1531
 Coué, S., 709
 Coulmas, F., 148, 512
 Cowell, A., 687
 Cramer, T., 592
 Crane, S., 761
 Creed, R.P., 1414-1416
 Cressy, D., 348, 762
 Cribiore, R., 728
 Crowley, D., 7
 Cruikshank, J., 78
 Crump, C.G., 731
 Curschmann, M., 421, 1280, 1396, 1570
 Curtius, E.R., 1571, 1572
 Cygler, F., 1070
 Da Cruz, J.P., 688
 Dagenais, J., 864

- Daiches, D., 1053
 Dallapiazza, M., 1259
 Daly, L.W., 950
 Damico, H., 1322
 Danet, B., 1194
 Daniels, P.T., 810
 Darnton, R., 865
 Dauphin, C., 1025
 Dauzat, J.A., 9
 Dauzat, S.V., 9
 Davids, C.A., 356
 Davies, S., 304
 Davies, W., 1206
 Davies, W.J.F., 744
 Davis, A.B., 37, 1417, 1418
 Davis, C.T., 763
 Davril, A., 373
 Daxelmüller, C., 1060
 De Boer, D.E.H., 1132
 De Haan, M., 1296
 De Booy, E.P., 760
 De Jong, M., 38, 39
 De Kooker, H.W., 349
 De Mattos Pimenta Parente, M.A., 105
 De Meyer, G.M., 588
 De Nie, G., 1532, 1555
 De Ridder-Symoens, H., 764
 De Riquier, M., 918
 De Rudder, O., 893
 De Vries, J., 1281
 De Wit, O., 1022
 Deansley, M., 733, 842
 Delbouille, M., 1255
 Delling, H., 374
 DeMolen, R., 736
 Demyttenaere, A., 190, 1561
 Deptula, C., 710
 Derolez, R., 284, 812
 Derville, A., 232
 Derwich, M., 1073, 1085
 Desmond, M., 1419
 Despodova, V., 1533
 Deyermont, A.D., 1367
 Diebold, W.J., 422
 Dijkhof, E.C., 1132, 1169
 Dilcher, G., 1150, 1170, 1210
 Dinzelbacher, P., 1573
 Ditter jr., F.L., 610
 Ditter, V.Y., 610
 Doane, A.N., 213, 836, 951, 952
 Dobozsy, M., 843
 Dodds, W.J., 724
 Dowiat, J., 331, 1090
 Downes, J., 40
 Drews, J., 35
 Duby, G., 640, 912
 Dufournet, J., 1376
 Duggan, J.J., 1347, 1348
 Duggan, L.G., 423
 Durdilly, P., 589
 Düwel, K., 1556, 1567
 Dymmel, P., 336
 Ebbesen, S., 517
 Ebels-Hoving, B., 641
 Eberle, P., 424
 Edel, D., 303, 605, 1470
 Ehler, C., 137, 1171
 Ehlers, J., 266
 Ehlich, K., 10, 148, 655
 Eisenberg, P., 11
 Eisenstein, E.L., 1001-1003
 Eisermann, F., 1503
 Elliott, A.G., 1534, 1535
 Ellis, A.W., 866
 Elm, K., 1050
 Elsner, J., 413
 Elwert, G., 79, 1046
 Engelsing, R., 944, 945
 Engler, B., 197
 Enos, T., 116
 Erfurt, J., 513, 955
 Eriksen, R., 1491
 Ernst, U., 425, 1256
 Erzgräber, W., 281, 698, 1420
 Escarpit, R., 12, 867
 Estivals, R., 133
 Evans, D.S., 1471
 Evans, J.D., 13
 Evans, M.J., 953
 Eyre C., 41
 Fabian, J., 80
 Faral, E., 1257
 Faulstich, W., 147, 482
 Febvre, L., 1004

- Feher, M., 395
 Fentress, J., 606
 Fern, O., 318
 Ferreiro, A., 171
 Fianu, K., 1133
 Fichte, J.O., 1029
 Fichtenau, H., 191
 Finley, M.L., 607
 Finnegan, R., 81, 82, 97, 1282
 Finnegan, R.H., 42, 656-658
 Fisher, J.H., 1217, 1453
 Fleckenstein, J., 496, 1095
 Fletcher, B.Y., 43
 Fleuriot, L., 591
 Foley, J.M., 659, 686, 689, 954, 1260,
 1283-1286, 1297, 1316, 1330, 1331,
 1338, 1349, 1350, 1421
 Fontaine, J., 241, 260, 551
 Forster, L., 608
 Fouracre, P., 1206
 Frank, B., 581, 955-957
 Frank, K.S., 1071
 Frank, R., 1422
 Franklin, S., 332, 333
 Frantzen, A.J., 37, 689
 Frese, E., 711
 Frey, S., 362
 Fried, J., 219, 483, 642, 789
 Friedland, K., 271
 Frith, U., 63
 Fritz, B., 919
 Fromm, H., 578, 1332
 Fruhmorgen-Voss, H., 454
 Fuchs, P., 507, 643
 Fugedi, E., 1037, 1091, 1172
 Fuhrmann, H., 468
 Fussel, S., 441
 Gaeng, P.A., 552
 Galbraith, V.H., 537, 1092
 Gallmann, P., 958
 Gamble, H.Y., 172
 Gameson, R., 406
 Gandz, S., 140
 Ganm, J.M., 1557
 Ganshof, F.L., 1218
 Ganz, D., 220
 Ganz, P., 208
 Garnier, C., 484
 Garrison, M., 1026
 Gärtner, K., 1401
 Gasparri, F., 765, 766
 Gatch, M. McC., 44
 Gauger, H.-M., 869, 870
 Gaur, A., 795, 796
 Gawthrop, R., 350
 Geary, P.J., 622, 1196
 Gehrke, H.-J., 1158
 Geier, M., 14
 Gejrot, C., 815
 Gellrich, J., 233
 Gellrich, J.M., 1038
 Genest, J.-F., 894
 Genet, J.P., 298
 Geremek, B., 334, 340, 712
 Gerhardsson, B., 141
 Gerritsen, W.P., 71, 924, 959, 1351
 Gessinger, J., 955
 Geuenich, D., 617, 711
 Giesecke, M., 844, 1006-1008
 Gieysztor, A., 376, 486, 926
 Giglio, C., 251
 Gillespie, V.J., 920
 Gilmont, J.-F., 1018, 1518
 Ginzburg, C., 1100
 Glendinning, R.J., 1333
 Glenisson, J., 894
 Glück, H., 15, 117
 Goetsch, P., 45
 Goetz, H.-W., 469, 713, 714, 1115
 Goldberg, H., 1258
 Goldblatt, H., 598
 Goldthwaite, R., 767
 Gonzalez Casanovas, R.J., 768
 Goodman, T.A., 16
 Goody, J., 83-90, 92, 148
 Görecki, D.M., 837
 Gorog, K.V., 1529
 Goudriaan, K., 1000
 Gough, K., 90
 Gracioti, S., 1172
 Graff, H.G., 351
 Graff, H.J., 91, 118, 119, 124
 Grafton, A., 921, 922
 Grafton, A.T., 1009

- Graham, W.A., 1504
 Gravdal, K., 1377
 Green, D., 515, 895, 1398, 1399, 1401
 Green, D.H., 46, 272-274, 896, 1259, 1397, 1400, 1402
 Greene, W.C., 516
 Greetham, D.C., 965
 Grendler, P.F., 769
 Grenzmann, L., 778, 1400
 GRIESE, S., 1010
 Griffith, M.S., 1423
 Grigsby, J.L., 1378
 Grimberg, M., 1027
 Groeben, N., 863
 Gross, S., 871
 Grotans, A.A., 901
 Groten, M., 1216
 Grubmüller, K., 214, 759, 770
 Grundmann, H., 192, 1108
 Gschwantler, O., 675
 Guarducci, M., 1558
 Guenée, B., 485, 624
 Guiraud, P., 17
 Gumbert, J.P., 826, 960, 961
 Gumbrecht, H.U., 25, 193, 221, 1006, 1011
 Gumperz, J.J., 8, 29
 Günther, H., 132, 194, 793
 Gurevich, A.J., 1101
 Gurevich, E.A., 1485
 Guriewicz, A., 590
 Gussone, N., 1574
 Gustavson, H., 318, 813-815
 Guth, D.J., 1133
 Guyonvarc'h, C.-J., 591
 Guyotjeannin, O., 1134, 1139
 Habermas, J., 18
 Habicht, W., 377
 Häcki Buhofer, A., 1247
 Hageman, M., 487
 Hahn, G., 440, 1396
 Hajdu, H., 234, 625
 Hajnal, E., 120
 Halbwachs, M., 610
 Hall, A.S., 1458
 Hall, R.A., 1135
 Hamburger, J., 409
 Hamesse, J., 660, 923, 946, 1058
 Hannawalt, B.A., 761
 Hannesdóttir, S.K., 319, 872
 Harder, R., 156
 Hardmeier, C., 69, 615
 Harms, W., 443, 453, 1010, 1503
 Harrington, S.M., 1109
 Harris, A.L., 43
 Harris, J., 1278, 1333
 Harris, R., 19-22
 Harris, W.V., 149
 Härtel, H., 845, 992
 Harth, D., 613
 Hartmann, J., 581, 957
 Hartung, W., 1559
 Harvey, A., 306, 579
 Harvey, F.D., 150
 Harvey, P.D.A., 1239
 Harwood, B.J., 1454
 Hasler, H., 725
 Hatto, A.T., 1325
 Haubrichs, W., 1403
 Hauck, K., 426, 470, 690, 1183
 Haug, W., 1261, 1404
 Havelock, E.A., 47, 146, 151, 152, 157-160
 Haverkamp, A., 609
 Haye, T., 1039
 Hayes, F., 378
 Haymes, E.R., 691, 1287, 1317
 Heather, P., 173
 Heene, K., 1536-1538
 Heffernan, T.J., 1453
 Heidecker, K., 1197
 Heinlen, M., 987
 Heinmiller, M.G., 1424
 Heinzle, J., 67, 1261, 1401
 Hellinga, L., 845, 992
 Henderson, D., 692
 Henige, D., 48, 661, 662
 Henige, D.P., 644
 Henkel, N., 427
 Hepple, R.B., 771
 Herboth, F., 90
 Herkommer, H., 1400, 1575
 Herman, J., 550, 553-554
 Hermand, X., 1058
 Herschbell, J.P., 146
 Hess, G., 214

- Hildbrand, T., 1072, 1198
 Hillgarth, J.N., 260
 Hilpert, H.-E., 1051
 Hindman, S., 1017
 Hintz, E.R., 1040
 Hlaváček, I., 335, 575, 772, 829-831, 1073
 Hledíková, Z., 1174
 Hoeppner Moran, J.A., 773
 Hofer, P., 774
 Hoffmann, D., 1288
 Hoffmann, H., 1028
 Hoffmann, W., 592
 Hogenelst, D., 924
 Hogg, J., 920
 Hölscher, T., 611
 Holt, J.P., 816
 Holtus, G., 571
 Honko, L., 1332
 Hornberger, N.H., 49
 Horner, S.L., 1110
 Horton, R., 97
 Houston, R.A., 352
 Howe, N., 902
 Hubbard, R.S., 428
 Hudson, A., 1514-1515
 Hundsbichler, H., 235
 Huot, S., 429, 1379-1380
 Hüpper, D., 452, 982, 1262
 Hyde, J.K., 252, 253
 Illich, I., 121, 875, 897, 898, 925, 1052
 Innes, M., 268
 Iris, M.A., 98
 Irvine, M., 222
 Irving jr., E.B., 663
 Irwin, B.D., 664
 Isaacson, L.H., 1334
 Iwańczak, W., 786, 1111
 Jackson, P., 295
 Jacobi, K., 517
 Jacobs, E.F., 731
 Jammers, E., 1353
 Janota, J., 439, 455
 Janowska, B., 1111
 Jansen, J., 1539
 Jansson, S.-B., 320
 Jantzen, H., 430
 Jarnut, J., 549, 1054
 Jean, G., 363, 797
 Jeanneret, M., 472
 Johanek, P., 1175, 1176
 Johannot, Y., 1576
 John, E., 1425
 Johnson, L.P., 443
 Jones, G.F., 275
 Jones, M., 1093
 Jones, P.H., 311
 Kahane, A., 1363
 Kamper, D., 402
 Kaplowitt, S.J., 31
 Karhof, G., 1352
 Kartschoke, D., 1094
 Karwasirska, J., 1540
 Kasper, C., 1074
 Katz, M.B., 726
 Kelber, W.H., 142, 1577
 Keller, H., 195, 196, 209, 239, 250, 254,
 1075-1076, 1138, 1151, 1152, 1165,
 1177, 1219, 1222
 Kellogg, R., 1289
 Kellogg, R.L., 1290, 1486
 Kelly, S., 285
 Kendall, C.B., 1415, 1426
 Kerner, M., 1244
 Key, M.R., 364
 Keynes, S., 1220
 Kiepe, H., 775
 Kiersnowski, R., 401
 King, J.C., 269
 Kintgen, E.R., 131
 Kintzinger, M., 394
 Kirchner, H., 645
 Kittay, J., 580
 Klapisch-Zuber, C., 776
 Klauper, R.W., 299
 Kleberg, T., 838
 Kleiner, Y.A., 1354
 Kleinschmidt, H., 518
 Kłoczowski, J., 1061
 Knape, J., 441
 Knirk, J.E., 734, 823
 Knowles, J.S., 1427
 Koch, J.T., 307, 1472
 Koch, P., 519, 593, 1153, 1178, 1199, 1221,
 1381

- Kock, T., 927
 Koep, L., 1578
 Köhn, R., 1029
 Kolb, H., 1077
 Kolesov, V.V., 735
 Kooper, E., 1326
 Kooper, E.S., 431
 Koopmans, M., 727
 Koppitz, H.-J., 845
 Kovtun, L.S., 735
 Koziol, G., 488
 Kraus, H., 571
 Kresten, O., 1541
 Kristol, A.M., 1382
 Kroeschel, K., 1154
 Krüger, S., 1095
 Kruisheer, J.G., 1132
 Kruk, R., 1497
 Kubouchi, T., 962
 Kuchenbuch, L., 1240-1242
 Kudeline, A.B., 1498
 Kuhn, H., 520, 1319
 Kullmann, W., 165, 806
 Künzel, R., 676
 Kürbis, B., 337, 926, 1112
 Lachmann, R., 609
 Lacy, N.J., 1347
 Lade, U., 452
 Lämmert, E., 1307
 Langeli, A., 1, 2, 240
 Lanham, R.A., 353
 Lappin, L., 803
 Larsen, M.T., 125
 Larsson, I., 523, 524
 Laurent, D., 1473
 Lawrence, J.N.H., 258
 Lawson, J., 777
 Leach, E., 24
 Lecours, A.R., 105
 Lee, E., 1136
 Le Goff, J., 489, 614
 Lehoux, F., 485
 Leidinger, P., 195
 Lemke, S.K., 832
 Lentés, T., 1521
 Lerer, S., 1428, 1455
 Lerner, R.E., 736
 Levy, K., 460
 Lewis, S., 432
 Leyerle, J., 1322
 Leyser, K., 490-492
 Lie, O.S.H., 928
 Lindahl, C., 1291
 Lindell, I., 321
 Lindig, E., 1274
 Lindow, J., 1485, 1487, 1489
 Lloyd Morgan, C., 1113
 Lloyd, P.M., 572
 Lohmeyer, E., 365
 Lommatzsch, E., 379
 Lönnroth, L., 1292, 1488
 Lopez-Morillas, M., 99
 Lord, A., 1335, 1355
 Lord, A.B., 686, 1320, 1336, 1337
 Lot F., 555
 Lowe, K.A., 1179
 Lucassen, J., 356
 Lucchi, P., 779
 Ludwig, O., 132, 798
 Luhmann, N., 507
 Lulofs, F., 538
 Lumppp, R.F., 50
 Lundt, B., 630, 1052
 Lunsford, A.A., 1119
 Luria, A.R., 99
 Lüsebrink, H.-J., 347
 Lütke Westhues, P., 1155
 Lutz, C.E., 1033
 Lutz, E.C., 433
 Maag, K., 1518
 Macartney, C.A., 715
 MacCormack, S., 493
 MacEoin, G., 309, 1474
 MacGearailt, U., 1475
 Machan, T.W., 963
 Mackay, E.A., 673
 Maddox, D., 263
 Maddox-Sturm, S., 263
 Magennis, H., 1542
 Magoun jr., F.P., 1356, 1429
 Mahé, J.-P., 1499
 Mair Parry, M., 259
 Mallory, J.P., 307, 1465
 Malyusz, E., 716

- Mandingorra Llavata, M.L., 929
 Mandrou, R., 1012
 Manent, A., 596
 Manguel, A., 876
 Manikowska, H., 255
 Mantingh, E., 930
 Marchal, G.P., 681
 Marchello-Nizia, C., 964
 Marichal, R., 799
 Markus, M., 1420
 Martin, G., 1223
 Martin, H.-J., 128, 827, 846, 877, 967, 1004
 Martin, J., 386, 827, 967, 1004
 Marx, A., 140
 Masser, A., 183
 Masson, R., 1517
 Massot i Muntaner, J., 596
 Mastrelli, C.A., 223
 McCartney, E., 878
 McClintock, M.J.H., 410
 McConeghy, P.M., 1114
 McGillivray, M., 693
 McKenzie, D.F., 127, 966
 McKitterick, R., 51, 52, 216, 224, 231, 269, 434, 556, 677, 1115, 1116
 McLuhan, M., 1013
 McMahon, C.P., 780
 McSheffrey, S., 1516
 Meale, C.M., 1106
 Meier, C., 367, 435, 451, 949, 1041, 1042
 Meier, H.H., 197
 Meisenberg, T., 800
 Meister, R., 565
 Meletinsky, E.M., 1489
 Melville, G., 1078, 1081
 Menache, S., 198
 Mersnowsky, M., 1224
 Meschonnic, H., 1293
 Metzler, D., 195
 Mews, C.J., 781
 Mezey, L., 1180
 Michałowska, T., 594, 1496
 Michałowski, R., 853
 Miethke, J., 782
 Miglio, L., 595, 1117
 Mignolo, W.D., 236
 Mihm, A., 1156
 Miklas, H., 225
 Miletich, J.S., 1294, 1295, 1321
 Miller, J.C., 648
 Miller, L.J., 286
 Miller, M.Y., 1430
 Miller, S., 1456
 Miller, W.I., 1200
 Miner, J.N., 783
 Mironov, B.N., 338
 Mitchell, D., 7
 Mitchell, J., 436
 Mitchell, S.A., 1490
 Mitrevska, M., 1533
 Moeller, B., 775, 1050
 Moirand, S., 437
 Moisl, H., 678, 679, 745
 Molau, P.D., 1500
 Momigliano, A., 665
 Mondin, L., 550
 Monroe, J.T., 1357
 Montgomery, T., 1367
 Mordek, H., 1157, 1166
 Moreau-Marchal, J., 968
 Morelle, L., 1139
 Morgan, T., 729
 Morland, L., 1431
 Morris, C., 717
 Morrissey, C.T., 666
 Mostert, M., 53-56, 189, 199-201, 277, 278, 310, 746, 972, 1079, 1560, 1561
 Mrozowski, P., 380-381
 Mück, H.-D., 275
 Muir Wright, R., 438
 Muller, G., 1562
 Müller, J.-D., 1014, 1096, 1343
 Müller, P., 143
 Muller, R.J., 161
 Muller, R.W., 969
 Muller, U., 275
 Mullett, M., 178
 Murphy, J.J., 566, 974
 Murray, A.V., 718
 Mustansir, M., 1502
 Naber, A., 847
 Nadal, J.M., 596
 Naess, H.S., 327
 Nagy, J.F., 694

- Near, M.R., 1432
 Neiske, F., 1076
 Nellhaus, T.B., 1015
 Nelson, J., 494
 Nelson, J.L., 1225
 Nelson, M., 1563
 Netzer, N., 627
 Neuburg, V.E., 354
 Neuheuser, H.P., 1574
 Nevalainen, T., 27
 Newbold, R., 1543
 Nichols, S.G., 970, 1383
 NíChongaile, N., 1476
 Nicolaisen, W.F.H., 669
 Niederstätter, A., 495
 Nielsen, K.M., 1564
 Niles, J.D., 287, 971, 1433-1435
 Nitschke, A., 382-389, 504, 747
 Noble, T.F.X., 1226
 Noomen, W., 1358
 Nora, P., 614, 635
 North, M., 1227
 Nowak, S., 1567
 Nyström, S., 818
 O Cuív, B., 312
 O Fiannachta, P., 700
 O Riain, P., 1544
 O'Brien O'Keeffe, K., 1436, 1437, 1569
 O'Hehir, B., 1477
 Öberg, J., 567
 Oberschelp, W., 1244
 Oddos, J.-P., 931
 Oesterreicher, W., 57, 519
 Oexle, G., 1097
 Oexle, O.G., 617, 711
 Ogden, D.B., 58
 Oikonomides, N., 179, 1228
 Olason, V., 1491
 Oliphant, D., 127
 Olsan, L., 1565
 Olsen, A.H., 695, 696, 1322
 Olson, D.R., 100, 101, 123
 Ong, W., 129
 Ong, W.J., 59-62, 102-104, 202, 1517
 Oomkes, F.R., 26
 Oosterhout, R., 407
 Opland, J., 287, 1438
 Orbán, A.P., 1080
 Orchard, A.P. McD., 288
 Orduna, G., 1369
 Orme, N., 737, 784
 Ornato, E., 911
 Orth, E., 496
 Oshitari, K., 962
 Ott, N.H., 390, 439, 440, 454
 Otten, R.Th., 1501
 Ožóg, K., 1062, 1181
 Palmer, N.F., 973
 Pandimiglio, L., 848
 Paravicini, W., 262, 271, 1097
 Parisse, M., 1139
 Parkes, M., 903
 Parkes, M.B., 974-977, 1053
 Parks, W., 697, 1263, 1298, 1323, 1439
 Pasternack, C.B., 213, 1440
 Pastoureau, M., 405
 Patlagean, E., 180
 Patt, W.D., 785
 Pattison, R., 130
 Pavlovic, M.N., 1299
 Payen, J.C., 1300
 Pearsall, D., 1457
 Pedrosa, J.M., 1370
 Peil, D., 391
 Penna, R.E., 1369
 Pesando, F., 885
 Petrov, K.V., 671
 Petrucci, A., 242-244, 256, 748, 801-803, 1136
 Petti Balbi, G., 849
 Pfeffer, W., 263
 Pfeiffer, K.L., 25
 Piccho, R., 598
 Piech, Z., 411
 Pinies, J.-P., 1473
 Pirenne, H., 738, 749
 Pitts, B.A., 1339, 1384
 Pleij, H., 932
 Plezia, M., 568
 Pobóg-Lenartowicz, A., 1073, 1085
 Pohl, W., 270, 1201
 Pompino-Marschall, B., 793
 Pontecorvo, C., 64
 Pooser, C.L., 719

- Popowska-Taborska, H., 582
 Porter, R., 248, 348, 521, 522
 Potkowski, E., 204, 339, 786, 850-853, 1182, 1229
 Potter, G.R., 787
 Poulin, J.-C., 1566
 Pozzi, G., 442
 Prestwich, M., 1230
 Pretzel, M.U., 1118
 Price, S., 498
 Pryce, H., 308
 Pulsiano, P., 1179
 Quinn, W.A., 1458
 Radding, C.M., 244
 Raffel, B., 1301
 Ragotzky, H., 440, 471, 1396
 Raible, W., 23, 45, 66, 76, 245, 475, 525, 593, 805, 806, 979, 980
 Raudszus, G., 404
 Raumolin-Brunberg, H., 27
 Raven, J., 355, 880
 Redep, J., 672
 Reeks, D.M., 1423
 Rees, E., 311
 Regalado, N.F., 1385
 Reggiani, A.M., 730
 Reichel, M., 165
 Reichert, H., 1405
 Reichl, K., 1264, 1302
 Reif, S.C., 343
 Reiffenstein, I., 1183
 Reimöller, H., 630, 1052
 Reinau, H., 650
 Reinburg, V., 627
 Renoir, A., 1340, 1341
 Repgen, K., 1028
 Resnick, D.P., 126
 Reynolds, S., 933, 934, 1203
 Richards, M.P., 1437
 Richardson, B., 1019
 Richardson, H.G., 1231
 Riché, P., 227, 739, 740, 750-754, 839
 Richter, M., 205, 206, 228, 229, 300, 526, 527, 544-546, 557, 558, 573, 745, 1054
 Rieger, D., 899, 1342
 Riehl, C.M., 34, 574, 1395
 Ritard, D.G., 1519
 Riu, M., 1232
 Roberts, B.F., 1478
 Roberts, S., 1204
 Robinson, F.C., 301
 Röcke, W., 109
 Rodgers, P., 854
 Roe, H., 680
 Röhrich, L., 698, 1274
 Roloff, V., 508
 Romano, A., 1144
 Romeo, C., 242, 243
 Roodenburg, H., 372
 Roos, R., 473
 Root, R.K., 833
 Rörig, F., 207
 Rosarossa, M.A., 1369
 Rose, J., 935
 Rosenthal, J.T., 855
 Rösler, W., 162
 Ross, R.C., 1459
 Rossetti, G., 1145
 Rossi, L., 911
 Rothstein, E., 951
 Rouse, M.A., 981
 Rouse, R., 981
 Roy, B., 626
 Roymans, N., 636
 Ruberg, U., 451, 509
 Rubin, D.C., 106, 107
 Rück, P., 1173
 Russom, G., 1441
 Ruyffelaere, P., 720
 Ryder, M.E., 633
 Sablonier, R., 1097
 Saenger, P., 936-938, 983-987
 Salles, C., 886
 Salminen, T., 1030
 Sánchez Romeralo, A., 1303
 Sanders, B., 121, 875, 1460
 Sanfilippo, M., 741
 Sasse Tateo, B., 788
 Sayers, W., 1304
 Sayles, G.O., 1231
 Scase, W., 856, 1461
 Scglusemann, R., 927
 Schaar, C., 1442

- Schaefer, U., 67, 109, 137, 230, 905, 1043, 1443, 1444
 Schaer, R., 1044
 Scharff, T., 1063, 1520, 1521
 Schelkle, K.H., 144
 Schenck, M.J., 1205
 Scheps, W., 699
 Scheub, H., 1360
 Schieffer, R., 1140
 Schiewer, H.-J., 988
 Schilling, M., 443, 1010, 1503
 Schlieben-Lange, B., 68, 237
 Schmidt, G., 1579
 Schmidt-Wiegand, R., 392-394, 444, 452, 528, 982, 1159-1162
 Schmitt, J.-C., 375, 395-397
 Schmitz, H.W., 93
 Schneider, R., 529, 1152, 1163
 Schnitzler, N., 390
 Scholler, H., 1313
 Scholz, B.F., 1251
 Scholz, M.G., 583, 939, 1406
 Schonsboe, K., 323
 Schott, R., 646
 Schousboe, K., 125
 Schöwerling, R., 1420
 Schreiner, K., 390, 474, 940, 1055, 1082, 1120, 1522, 1580
 Schubert, M.J., 398
 Schulte, P., 499
 Schulze-Belli, P., 1259
 Schupp, V., 445
 Schwab, U., 1567
 Schwarcz, A., 679
 Schwyter, J.R., 1164
 Scott, K., 1121
 Scragg, D.G., 952
 Scribner, S., 108
 Sed-Rajna, G., 342
 Ségalen, A.-P., 591
 Seidenspinner, W., 637
 Seitter, W., 402
 Selig, M., 581, 584, 1265
 Semmler, J., 1083
 Seppänen, L., 541
 Shannon, C.E., 28
 Sharpe, E.J., 141
 Sheingorn, P., 1122
 Shrimpton, G.S., 616
 Sigurdsson, G., 1484
 Simensen, E., 324
 Simms, K., 700
 Simonsen, M., 1266
 Singer, C., 998
 Sirat, C., 807
 Sissons, C., 446
 Sissung, M., 925
 Sivéry, G., 1233
 Skála, E., 575, 597
 Skälweit, S., 1028
 Skrzypczak, H., 1105
 Skupieński, K., 1056
 Slusher, J.L., 1207
 Slyomovics, S., 1361
 Šmahel, F., 340, 857
 Small, J.P., 154
 Smirnov, I.P., 341
 Smith, J.M.H., 1545
 Smith, L., 1125
 Smith, L.J., 1126, 1127
 Smith, L.M., 293
 Smolka-Koerdt, G., 1272
 Smyth, M., 313
 Söderberg, B., 134, 524, 819-821, 1031, 1492
 Soeteman, C., 1324
 Solotaroff, L., 99
 Solterer, H., 447
 Sonderegger, S., 1407
 Soons, A., 1084
 Sorrell, P., 1445
 Sot, M., 1560
 Spanily, C., 1123
 Spencer, H., 448
 Spiegel, G.M., 1386
 Spielmann, E., 1393
 Splett, J., 270
 Sprandel, R., 210
 Spufford, M., 356
 Spurkland, T., 325
 Stackmann, K., 778
 Stammler, W., 449
 Staubach, N., 858, 1523
 Steffenson, J., 326
 Steinberg, S.H., 1020

- Stetkevych, S.P., 1502
 Stevenson, J., 314-316
 Stennon, J., 808
 Stine, P.C., 1506
 Stitt, J.M., 1305
 Stock, B., 88, 211, 530, 628, 887, 1047, 1048, 1267
 Stockman, G., 307, 1465
 Stoffers, M., 199
 Stokker, K., 327
 Stopka, J., 1085
 Storp, U., 1268
 Stotzel, G., 111
 Stouten, J., 932
 Stratmann, M., 1243, 1244
 Strauss, G., 350, 357
 Street, B.V., 70, 135
 Stubbs, M., 94
 Studt, B., 238
 Stuij, R.E.V., 203, 742, 1387-1388
 Sturmer, W., 394
 Suntrup, R., 367
 Svejkovsky, F., 598
 Svenbro, J., 888
 Swanson, R., 1234
 Swierk, A., 144
 Szarmach, P.E., 952
 Szczur, S., 1185
 Szell, T., 1550
 Tannen, D., 84
 Tanner, J.R., 733
 Tarugi, G., 273
 Tarvers, J.K., 1124
 Taylor, A., 1270
 Taylor, J., 1032, 1125
 Taylor, J.H.M., 1126, 1127
 Taylor, R.A., 947, 1048, 1398
 Teberosky, A., 65
 Teunis, H.B., 1141
 Teuscher, S., 1033
 Th. Bijvoet 861
 Thomas, K., 358
 Thomas, R., 163, 164
 Thomé, G., 809, 989
 Thompson, J.W., 1057
 Thorlby, A., 1053
 Thorndike, L., 743
 Thum, B., 500, 501
 Tischler, M.M., 212
 Toch, M., 1102
 Tomasek, T., 506
 Tommasson, R.F., 328
 Toon, T.E., 289
 Top, S., 701
 Torrance, N., 123
 Torrini, R.G., 1347
 Torti, A., 1264
 Toswell, H.J., 1350
 Tranter, S.N., 1469
 Trauber, S., 904
 Trede, J., 1064
 Treharne, E.M., 1179
 Treitler, L., 461
 Trelińska, B., 336
 Trevitt, J., 1020
 Tristram, H.L.C., 305, 1065, 1271, 1421, 1469, 1476, 1479, 1480
 Turner, R.V., 1098
 Tymowski, M., 851
 Tyson, G.P., 1016
 Uhlman, D.R., 1462
 Urbańczyk, P., 582
 Vale, M.G.A., 302
 Van den Berg, W., 932
 Van den Berg, E., 1326, 1408
 Van den Boogaard, N., 1388
 Van den Oord, C.J.A., 1021
 Van der Lecq, R., 542
 Van der Veen, J., 1362
 Van der Woude, A., 136
 Van der Woude, A.M., 359
 Van Egmond, W.S., 1546
 Van Engen, J., 1524
 Van Lente, D., 1022
 Van Run, A., 412
 Van Schaik, M., 462
 Van Selm, B., 349, 941
 Van Strien-Gerritsen, L., 1481
 Van Uytenghe, M., 559-560, 1547-1548
 Vanderbilt, D.L., 290
 Vannebo, K.I., 329
 Vansina, J., 647-649
 Varvaro, A., 702
 Vasoli, C., 1172

- Vecchio, S., 540
Veit, P., 1525
Vellekoop, C., 71, 203, 463-464, 742
Verhoeven, L., 65
Vermes, G., 145
Vervliet, H.D.L., 1024
Vessey, M., 72, 1273
Vezin, J., 967
Viola, A., 251
Viscardi, A., 721
Vitulo, J., 1372
Vitz, E.B., 73, 990, 1389-1390, 1549-1550
Vogler, W., 269
Vogt-Spira, G., 166, 168-169, 1269
Volk, S., 281
Volk-Birke, S., 1066
Vollrath, H., 532, 722, 1167, 1208-1209
Von Hentig, H., 747
Von Amira, K., 399
Von den Steinen, W., 569
Von Euw, A., 906
Von Moos, P., 1045
Von Nolcken, C., 1067
Von See, K., 1327, 1493, 1494
Von Ungern-Sternberg, J., 650
Voorwinden, N., 1296
Vries, O., 599
Wagonheim, S.S., 1016
Walcy, D., 253
Wallach, L., 756
Walsh, R., 1099
Walz, R., 1103
Ward, D.J., 1392
Warwick Frese, D., 1569
Watt, I., 89-90
Weaver, W., 28
Webber, R.H., 1371
Weber, G.W., 608
Weigl, H., 1235
Weijers, O., 660, 960
Weiler, A.G., 277
Weinfurter, S., 1208
Weisstein, U., 425
Weitzel, J., 1210, 1211
Wells, P.S., 1415
Wendehorst, A., 789, 1086
Wenzel, H., 214, 400, 455, 471, 623, 629-631, 942, 943
Wenzel, S., 1526
Werner, K.F., 262
Werner, O., 804
Westlund, B., 822
Westra, H., 74, 1275
White, S.D., 1212
Whiteman, M.F., 8
Wicker, N.L., 823
Wickham, C., 606
Wickham, C.J., 1104
Wieruszowski, H., 790
Wiesiowski, J., 991
Wiethaus, V., 1121
Wild, J., 1236
Wilentz, S., 497
Williams, R., 30
Wilson, N.G., 890
Wipszycka, E., 155, 181
Wiśniowski, E., 791
Withers, J.M., 1463
Witkowska, A., 1551
Wittekind, S., 456
Wittmann, R., 834
Wogan-Browne, J., 1552
Wolf, A., 703, 1328, 1495
Wolfart, C., 1307
Wolff, Ph., 533
Wolfram, H., 270, 679
Wollasch, J., 1087, 1088
Wollmann, A., 284, 812
Womack, J.C., 1260
Womack, W.A., 1260
Wood, I., 1237
Woodall, C., 1025
Woodbridge, L., 360
Wooden, J.P.J., 1464
Woolf, G., 153
Wormald, C.P., 291
Worstbrock, F.-J., 1527
Wright, R., 259, 438, 543, 561, 562, 585
Wulf, C., 402
Wunderli, P., 571
Wuttke, D., 1400
Wyrobisz, A., 851
Yates, F.A., 632

Zaerr, L.M., 633

Zahlten, J., 394

Zijlstra, A.M.J., 465

Zimmermann, G., 1405

Ziolkowski, J., 570

Zumthor, P., 215, 534, 535, 626, 1276, 1277,
1308-1311, 1364-1366, 1391

Żurowska, K., 1182